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ALEXANDER I.

Emperor of Russia

A

NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS

WHICH FOLLOWED

BONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA

TO THE

PERIOD OF HIS DETHRONEMENT.

BY WILLIAM DUNLAP.

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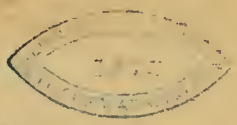

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NAPOLEON AUF DEM STERBEBETTE.

ZU

A NARRATIVE, &c.

At the termination of the year 1812, the power of Napoleon Bonaparte had received the shock from which it never recovered. The destruction of human life in that memorable year is unparalleled in the records of our globe. The havoc and suffering in the south of Europe, though in themselves enormous, are lost, and the whole attention of the observer is occupied by the cotemporaneous events, so stupendous in magnitude and character, so momentous in their consequences, which were passing in the north.

We have seen the vanquished emperor deserting the wreck of his mighty host, and flying recreant toward his capital; while the victor, from Wilna, on the first day of the ensuing year, issues his congratulations to his triumphant armies and subjects rescued from a foreign master. But still much

was to be done; and the events which followed the campaign in Russia are no less worthy the pen of the historian and the admiration of mankind. The intention of the present writer is to give a brief chronological narrative of the important transactions in the north of Europe and in France, which terminated in the abdication of the French Emperor.

The first public act of Napoleon Bonaparte after his return to Paris, is his address to the deputies of the legislative body of the empire. He tells them, with rather a greater mixture of truth than the rulers of Europe usually display in their communications to their subjects and the world, that he has met with great reverses of fortune, and sustained severe losses; he asserts that "the French dynasty will reign in Spain," and "the Russians re-enter their frightful climate:" he announces his satisfaction with the conduct of all his allies, and his determination to defend them; he calls upon *his* people to make every sacrifice rather than submit to a bad peace, which would cause the loss of "all, even

of hope;" and concludes by saying, "I have need of great resources to meet the expenses which circumstances exact, but notwithstanding the different means which my minister of finance will propose to you, I hope not to impose any new burdens on my people."

While Napoleon was assuring his people of his confidence in his allies, those allies were taking measures to make their peace with the conqueror, and to secure a portion of the spoil which a continuation of the war against France promised. The King of Prussia was the first to reconcile himself to Alexander the liberator, who cut asunder the bonds which united him to France, and engaged with the same sword to defend him from the vengeance of Napoleon. The monarchs of Russia and Prussia agreed to unite their late hostile legions against their brother of France, and the Prussian Ambassador, M. the Baron de Krusemarck, made known this league, offensive and defensive, to the French court on the 27th of March, 1813.

The Prussian manifesto is long; enume-

rates many subjects of complaint, as is usual on these occasions, and concludes with this paragraph: "In such a state of things, it could not long remain doubtful what part the king should take. For years past he had sacrificed every thing to the preservation of his political existence; now France herself puts at hazard this existence, and does nothing to protect it. Russia has the power to aggravate his misfortunes, and yet generously offers to defend him. The king cannot hesitate. Faithful to his principles and his duties, he joins his arms to those of the Emperor Alexander, changing his system without changing his object. He hopes by breaking with France, and attaching himself to Russia, to obtain by an honourable peace, or by the strength of his arms, the sole object of his wishes, the independence of his people, the benefits which result from it, and the inheritance of his fathers, the one half of which has been wrested from him. The king will adhere with all his power to all the propositions conformed to the common interest of the *sovereigns of Europe*. He ar-

dently desires that they may produce a state of things in which treaties shall be no longer mere truces, in which power may become the guarantee of justice, and every one, confining himself to his natural rights, may be no longer tormented in all the points of his existence by the abuse of force."

There is certainly much truth and wisdom in this paragraph, containing a profound political lesson to rulers and people; and the desires of his Prussian majesty are most natural to a little despot like himself, surrounded by great ones.

The Duke of Bassano, on the first of April, 1813, answered the Prussian manifesto in a style of bitterness the more caustic from its constant recurrence to facts. He begins, "Prussia solicited and concluded an alliance with France in 1812, because the French armies were nearer the Prussian states than the Russian armies were. Prussia declares, in 1813, that she violates her treaties, because the Russian armies are nearer her states than the French armies are;" and then proceeds to take a

retrospective view of the fluctuating conduct of the King of Prussia from 1792 to the present time, concluding with threats of chastisement.

In the mean time, the then pretender to the throne of France, residing at Hartwell, in England, with great political wisdom, under the title of Louis XVIII. issued an address to "*his* oppressed subjects." In this paper Louis acknowledges his inability, and pretends that he has no inclination to obtain the throne of France but through the wishes of the people. He reiterates assurances formerly made, that the administrative and judicial bodies shall be maintained; that those holding places shall retain them; that all prosecutions for acts committed since the revolution shall be prohibited; that the present code of laws shall be continued; that the present holders of lands shall be unmolested; that the organization of the army in all its grades shall be maintained, and the conscription abolished.

Bernadotte, who, under the title of Crown Prince, is the actual monarch of

Sweden, though elected to this dignity by the intrigues of Bonaparte, seems to have acted exclusively for the benefit of himself and the people over whom he had become the ruler. Foreseeing the danger to Sweden from the power of Russia, he is supposed to have aided Russia secretly, by his advice, against France, and it has even been asserted that the Russian plan of the last great campaign was suggested by him; he, however, in the name of Charles XIII. now openly broke terms with his former master, and prepared to march the Swedish conscripts (for the French system of conscription was fully established in Sweden) to the aid of the Russian autocrat. By a treaty, signed in the names of the kings of Great Britain and Sweden, at Stockholm, on the 3d of March, 1813, Sweden engages to send thirty thousand men under Bernadotte to operate in Germany against France: England, on her part, assenting to the annexation of Norway to the crown of Sweden; Russia having, by a previous treaty, agreed to give that country, belonging to Denmark, to Sweden, and

to conquer it for her if necessary. England likewise engages to pay Sweden one million sterling, and give her the Island of Guadaloupe.

Thus the despot of France saw the coalition against him strengthening daily in consequence of his Russian defeats and disasters; but he on his part was not inactive in calling forth the mighty resources of the great nation over which he ruled with a rod of iron. The plans adopted by the French government put at the disposal of the emperor an army of four hundred thousand men for the Elbe, and two hundred thousand on the Rhine, beside filling up the armies of Italy and Spain.

The report of the minister of exterior relations to the emperor and king, when speaking of Prussia, says, "the defection of General D'Yorck called the enemy into the states of the King of Prussia, and compelled our armies to evacuate the Vistula and proceed to the Oder. Prussia, to disguise her intentions, offered to furnish a new contingency. She had in Silesia, and on this side the Oder, a sufficient number of

troops already formed, and of cavalry which would have been so useful in opposing the light troops of the enemy. But she had decided not to keep her promise. The king abandoned a residence in which he was covered by the Oder to go into an open city in order to hail the approach of the enemy. Hardly had he arrived at Breslaw, before General Bulow, imitating the treason of General D'Yorck, opened his lines to the Russian light troops, and facilitated their passage of the Oder. The king at length threw off the mask, and by three successive ordinances called to arms first the young men rich enough to equip themselves, then the whole of the youth from seventeen to twenty-four years of age, and last the men above that age."

In fact, the Russian armies had advanced with little opposition; had taken possession of Warsaw on the 8th of February, and marched as friends into Berlin on the 4th of March. The Hanoverians had displayed the British colours, and Hamburg had received the Russian troops with acclamations, and proclaimed its ancient govern-

ment, under assurances of protection from the Emperor Alexander.

In April the Russian armies had been augmented to three hundred and fifty-eight thousand men; beside which, Count Tolstoy had crossed the Niemen with reinforcements of one hundred thousand men, principally Cossacks. The advanced *corps d'armée* of the Swedes had arrived on the Elbe from Pomerania, and were to be followed by twenty-five thousand men under the immediate command of the Crown Prince Bernadotte. The Prussian army, under the command of the celebrated Blucher, had advanced into the vicinity of Erfurth.

On the 5th of April the Russians and Prussians, who had so lately met at the point of the bayonet, and inflicted on each other all the miseries of glorious war, were arranged in perfect harmony under the orders of Count Wittgenstein, and opposed to the French under the Viceroy of Italy. The French *corps d'armée* was composed of four divisions, amounting to about twenty-two thousand men; and had been plunder-

ing the country around Magdeburg, on the right bank of the Elbe. Wittgenstein resolved to attack them. He for that purpose concentrated the corps of Generals D'Yorck and Von Berg near Zerbst, and fixed his head quarters at that place. Generals Von Borstel and Von Bulow were pushed on from Ziesar with orders to attack the enemy on the 5th when they should hear the commencement of the cannonading. On the morning of the 5th of April General D'Yorck's corps advanced to Leitzkau, and General Von Berg's to Ladeberg. General Von Borstel had advanced toward Mockern, and General Von Bulow to Hohenziatz. It was late in the afternoon before the van guard of D'Yorck came up with the French at Danighow, and the different corps of the allies soon after commenced their attacks upon Beauharnois' army at every point, and with a great superiority of numbers. The French fought with their usual valour until dark, and then retreated, with a loss of near two thousand men killed and wounded. Witt-

genstein by this victory supposed that he had prevented an attempt upon Berlin.

About this time (April 3d) the Emperor of Russia, in a proclamation addressed to the Germans, and signed "Prince Koutusoff Smolensk," declares the intention of Russia and Prussia to reduce France to her ancient limits, and restore liberty and independence to the princes and nations of Germany.

The Emperor Napoleon having appointed his consort Regent of France, and made every other necessary disposition for what he would call the security and glory of the empire, left Paris to take command of the numerous hosts which, as if by supernatural power, had been assembled and arrayed in hostile opposition to the late conquerors of the armies of France, Austria, and Prussia. On the 24th of April Napoleon left Mayence. Upon his joining the army every thing announced his intention to act on the offensive. In consequence of these appearances the combined Russian and Prussian armies had been united between Leipsic and Altenburg, a position highly advantageous in all cases either of attack or de-

fence. The French, having concentrated their forces, were *debouching* by Merseburg and Weissenfels, at the same time that a considerable corps under Lauriston was sent on toward Leipsic, which appeared to be the main object of operation; this movement determined Count Wittgenstein to make the attack when it would be out of the power of Lauriston's corps to coöperate with the main army.

Marshal Prince Koutusoff Smolensk had been left ill on the march at Buntzleau, where he died; but his death was not published. Count Wittgenstein, who had virtually commanded the allied forces, was now appointed commander in chief. The battle of the 2d May commenced by the attack of Beauharnois upon the village of Listenau, and the bridges in front of Leipsic. While Napoleon was waiting the result of this attack with the intention to move on Leipsic, Wittgenstein, following his plan of operations, attacked the centre of the French army at the village of Gross-Gorchen. Generals D'Yorck and Blucher commanded this attack, which appears to

have been unexpected by the French, and made with an overwhelming force. The battle became general, but was hottest at the central point, the village of Gross-Gorchen, which was taken and re-taken, at the point of the bayonet, six several times with immense slaughter. The French centre, repeatedly broken, was at length supported by the troops which had moved on Leipsic, who made an attack on the right of the allies which was irresistible. To oppose this corps, the whole cavalry of the allied army were ordered from the left, where they had been employed with alternate success and repulse in charges upon the French columns of infantry, and were intended for a combined charge upon the French left: great expectations were raised of complete success from this manœuvre, but darkness intervened before the cavalry could be brought into action. The next morning the allies were prepared to renew the battle, but the French were already in march toward Leipsic, the object of their first movements, and the allies did not deem it expedient to follow them. As far as can

be judged from the statements of both parties, twenty thousand men were killed and wounded on this day of slaughter, and each party announced a glorious victory obtained by himself. The sequel, however, proves that the advantage was with the French: the allies occupied the point of their attack, and their adversary possessed and moved forward upon his; the loss on each side was probably about equal. This battle has been denominated the battle of Lutzen.

On the 6th of May, General Wittgenstein had placed his army between the Elbe and the Elster, with the command of several of the bridges over the Elbe.

Hamburgh, notwithstanding the power and the assurances of protection made by her Russian deliverer, was again doomed to experience the miseries of foreign domination. A body of Swedish forces had been thrown into the city for its defence, but upon the approach of an army of Danes and French under General Bruyere, the Swedes retired, and the city again became subject to the French despot. The city was laid under a contribution of forty-eight

millions of francs, among other modes of punishment for having rejoiced at its liberation from its gracious master, and for having taken measures to insure its freedom.

The allied armies, after the battle of Lutzen, appear to have made successive retrograde movements, until they had chosen an exceedingly strong position in advance of Wurtchen and Hochkirk, a place celebrated in the history of the seven years war, where they concentrated a force of from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty thousand men, and strengthened themselves by every means which the art of defence could suggest.

On the 10th of May the French army passed the Elbe. On the 15th it took up its position in front of the allies at Bautzen. On the 19th the French emperor arrived from Dresden at his camp near Bautzen, and immediately reconnoitered the enemy's position, and formed his plan of attack.

On this same day a corps of the French under Lauriston, which was advancing to join the main army, were met and partially

defeated by the corps of D'Yorck and Barclay de Tolly. The allies claimed a victory with the acquisition of ten pieces of cannon and one thousand five hundred prisoners; but the affair does not appear to have been sufficient to disconcert Bonaparte's intended attack upon the lines of the allied armies, which took place on the morning of the 20th.

The right of the allied armies was supported by mountains covered by woods. Bautzen contained their centre; this town having been covered with redoubts. The left of the allies leaned upon fortified rising grounds which defended the debouches from the river Spree. All their front was covered by the Spree. They had a second fortified position in the rear of the first; the left in front of the village of Hochkirk, the centre covered by three intrenched villages and some marshes; and their right by rising grounds and intrenchments.

Marshal Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, commanded the right of the French army, leaning upon the mountains to the left of the Spree, and separated from the left of

the allies by a valley and the river; Marshal M'Donald, Duke of Tarentum, commanded before Bautzen on the Dresden road; Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, was upon the left of Bautzen, opposite the village of Niemenschutz: to the left of Marmont, General Bertrand commanded a corps intended to *debouche* from Jaselitz upon the right of the allies. Marshal Ney, Prince of Moskwa, General Lauriston, and General Regnier, were at Hoyerswerda, thrown out of the line, into the rear of the French army by the battle of the 19th.

From the heights near Bautzen, Napoleon directed the battle. He ordered Oudinot to pass the Spree and attack the mountains which supported the left of the allies. Marshal M'Donald was directed to throw a bridge over the Spree between Bautzen and the mountains. Marmont was ordered to throw another over a turn which that river takes to the left of Bautzen. Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, to whom the command of the centre was given, had orders to pass the Spree and attack the right of the combined armies; whilst Ney, Lauris-

ton, and Regnier were ordered to push forward on Klix, pass the Spree, turn the right of the allies, and establish themselves from Wurtchen to Weissenburg.

About noon on the 20th the battle began by cannonading. Marshals McDonald and Marmont crossed the Spree, and the latter, after a severe contest, gained possession of the heights and works opposed to him. A French division under general Compans, after a severe struggle of six hours, gained the occupation of Bautzen. At seven in the evening the French had gained several points of the first position of the allies, and with advantages which more than compensated in a hero's mind the immense loss of men, stood ready to renew the attack on the return of day. At five in the morning of the 21st the Emperor of the French, having taken his stand on the heights in advance of Bautzen, Marshals Oudinot and McDonald were directed to attack the left of the allies, and by keeping up a continued discharge of cannon and musketry thereby hide the real point of attack. Marshal Mortier, Duke of Treviso, kept

up a cannonade in front of the centre of the allies; while Ney, who had in the manœuvres of the preceding day been separated from the main army by a part of the right of the allies, now attacked and beat his opponents at the village of Klix, and advanced fighting to Preiletz. This village was carried by his troops; but the reserve of the allies advancing, the French were beaten back again with slaughter. About noon Marshal Soult, who led the centre, *debouched;* but Count Wittgenstein directing his greatest efforts against this point, repulsed the attack of the centre of the French with loss. At this moment Bonaparte led the guards, the divisions of Maubourg, and a powerful artillery, to the attack of the right of the allies commanded by the veteran Blucher, and by this movement decided the bloody contest in favour of the French arms. The allies were obliged to uncover their right to meet this new attack, and Marshal Ney, taking advantage of the circumstance, regained the ground he had lost, carried by assault the village of Preisig, and pushed on to

Wurtcher. Bonaparte having turned the right of the allies, they were obliged to retreat, and left the field of battle covered with the mingled wounded, dying, and dead, in the possession of the French army. During the whole night the allied armies continued their retreat, and by four o'clock in the morning of the 22d the French commenced the pursuit.

The allies made a stand at Reichenbach, and were again attacked, and again obliged to retreat. The battle was again bloody and obstinate. The French brought into action all their cavalry. General Regnier with the Saxon corps gained the heights beyond Rettenbach, and pursued their adversaries as far as Hottendorf. The French army rested near Gorlitz, the allies continuing to retreat in the direction of Schweidnitz.

Thus the 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d of May presented a succession of carnage in four successive battles fought by at least 300,000 of the finest troops in the world. The killed and wounded were horribly great on both sides. Of the losses on ei-

ther part we can make no accurate estimate; but some idea may be formed of the slaughter and suffering by the French statement, that the allies lost in wounded alone 28,000 men, of whom 10,000 were left on the field. The French acknowledged a loss of 12,000 killed and wounded; which probably may be doubled, and not equal the carnage of these four bloody days. Several general officers were killed, among whom general Kirgener, and Marshal Duroc, duke of Friuli, were destroyed by the same cannon ball.

On the 4th of June an armistice was signed, to continue from that time to the 20th of July. This was preceded by the arrival of count Shouvaloff and the Prussian general Kliest at the head quarters of the victorious Emperor, where they had a conference of many hours. It was stipulated that the allies should, during the above-mentioned time, remain in East Prussia, and the French in Saxony and Silesia, having the privilege to provision the garrisons of Dantzic, Stetten, Custrin, Molsk, &c. every five days, with a free use of a

French league of ground in the rear of each. A corps of the allies that blockaded Magdeburg was removed. The principal privilege gained by the allies was exemption from attack in their weakened condition.

The events and termination of this short campaign of one month, were subjects of astonishment to the civilized world; and various and strong were the hopes and fears of mankind during the negotiations for which this armistice gave time. The Prussian government made public declaration that the time gained should be employed in preparations for securing its independence. The governor of the country between the Vistula and the Russian frontier, *calmed* the minds of the people by assurances that the armistice would not terminate in peace, and the crown prince of Sweden took a position with an army of 70,000 men on the lower Elbe, to be ready for the recommencement of hostilities. Notwithstanding these warlike appearances a congress of plenipotentiaries met at Prague, and negotiations fo

peace were carried on formally under the mediation of the emperor of Austria, by whose interference the armistice was extended to the 10th of August.

On the 14th of August the emperor of Austria published a manifesto, in which he announces the failure of the negotiations at Prague, and charges his son-in-law, Napoleon, with being the *cause*. He announces as a consequence his joining the league against France, that being the only mode left him of preserving his independence, and procuring peace for Europe.

Thus the war was renewed, and the power of Austria not only withdrawn from Napoleon, but set in array against him—a power stated at 150,000 soldiers. The total force in arms of the allies was said to be 477,000, exclusive of 70 or 80,000 Swedes under the command of Bernadotte. All these mighty armies were under the command of men who had learned the most approved mode of warfare, either by fighting against or under the orders of Bonaparte.

Hostilities recommenced by an attack

upon a position of the allied army in front of Lauenburgh, which Marshal Davoust, with a superior force of French and Danes, carried at the point of the bayonet. The allies on their part recommenced the bombardment of Stettin.

The French, having concentrated an army of 80,000 men in the environs of Beyruth, under Marshal Oudinot, made a movement on the 21st of August which threatened Berlin. They advanced by the way of Trebbin, and forced all the positions of the allies, until they occupied the country between Mittenwalde and the Soare. On the 23d General Bertrand debouched upon the Prussian corps of Tauenzein, but was repulsed; but another part of the French army carried the village of Gross Beren, and the whole advanced upon Ahrendorf.

The action was renewed by an attempt of the allies to regain Gross Beren. A division of the French army having threatened the village of Ruhldsdorf, Bernadotte sent a force to take them in flank, which decided the day in favour of the allies, who took 26 cannon, 1,500 prisoners, beside baggage and ammunition.

It appears that the plan of the allies for opening this second campaign of 1813, was to advance from Bohemia by the passes into Saxony, and commence offensive operations in flank and rear of their enemy, should he maintain his positions in Lusatia and on the right bank of the Elbe. While the main Russian army under Barclay De Tolly, including the corps of Wittgenstein and Milaradovitch, the Prussian corps of Kleist, and the whole of the Austrian army, were to act offensively, under the chief command of Prince Schwartzenburgh. General Blucher, with a *corps d'armée* composed of a division of Prussians under general D'Yorck, with two Russian divisions, were to move from Silesia on Lusatia, and threaten the front of the French army.

In conformity with this plan, Blucher advanced in three columns on the 20th of August, the French withdrawing their posts before him; but on the 21st Bonaparte advanced upon the allies at Buntslau, Lowenburg, and Laun, attacked, and after an obstinate contest, forced the Prussian vete-

ran to retreat with a loss of upwards of 2,000 men. The grand army of the allies was at the same time passing the frontiers of Bohemia and Saxony; the columns of Wittgenstein and Kleist by the passes of Peterswalde, and the Austrians by Komotau. On the 22d Wittgenstein's corps fell in with a portion of the French army under general St. Cyr, and after a sharp action, drove this corps of 15,000 men with considerable loss into Konigstein and the entrenched works near Dresden. The other corps of the French army retreated before the allies to the same point. The allies now pressed forward on every side, and encircled Dresden. On the 26th of August the advanced guards of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians encamped upon the heights above Dresden, and on the 27th the French abandoned all the ground in advance of the city, and withdrew into the suburbs and their different works. These movements were not unaccompanied by losses of life on either part, in actions of minor importance, but which in other wars might have been deem-

ed battles, and recorded for the gallantry displayed, and the slaughter inflicted; but now the conflicts of armies, in which thousands are engaged, or even thousands slain, sink into insignificance, in comparison with the great days of conflict in which hundreds of thousands were engaged in deeds of death, and the victims of ambition by tens of thousands lay mangled with wounds in mingled heaps of dead and dying, on the horrible fields of their contention.

The 27th of August is memorable in the records even of this war. The French had scarcely retired to their posts in and around Dresden, when the allied armies, as if with an intent of terminating the war by the destruction of Bonaparte and his legions, made a combined attack upon all the French works. At four o'clock in the afternoon the troops moved to the assault. A tremendous cannonade from all the artillery of the allied armies began the operations of destruction, and was answered by an equal and more destructive discharge of cannon upon the unsheltered and advancing assailants. On all

sides the troops of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, closed upon the works of the French, and in several places with unavailing valour stormed the redoubts literally in the cannon's mouth. The Austrians gained one redoubt of eight guns not above sixty yards from the main wall, but the French only quitted it for a shelter behind other works, from whence they mowed down their enemies, themselves in security. The artillery of the allies made no impression upon the walls of the city, and the troops were exposed to an unavailing slaughter, where there were no breaches to facilitate their attacks, and where they were exposed to the fire of an enemy whom they could not reach. Bonaparte, seeing his assailants completely checked, ordered a sortie of 30,000 of his guards; and it required all the skill of the allied generals to withdraw their troops from the combat. Prince Maurice of Lichtenstein sustained the attack of the guards, and prevented the retreat from becoming a rout. The allied armies regained their encampments, leaving many thou-

sands of their best troops dead and dying on the field.

The French Emperor, who had entered Dresden immediately after the victory he had obtained over Blucher, and just in time to direct these important operations, determined upon following up the repulse of the allies by an attack upon their encampments the next day. The troops who had made the sortie of the 27th remained upon the field, and on the morning of the 28th Bonaparte marched his whole army to the attack.

The allies occupied a very extended position on the heights surrounding the city of Dresden, and although to assault an army in its camp which the day before had been considered strong enough to carry the redoubts and walls of a city defended by 130,000 men, or, perhaps, more, was an arduous undertaking, yet the French commander knew that he had the advantage of directing troops triumphing in the success of the preceding day, who if checked could retire to the shelter of the ramparts lined with cannon which supported

their rear. The day was hazy with a great fall of rain, and the battle was principally maintained by the artillery of both armies and by frequent charges of cavalry.

Towards the middle of the day a catastrophe occurred which awakened more than ordinary sensibility and regret throughout the allied army: General Moreau, whilst in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia, on the operations of the day, had both his legs carried off by a cannon shot, the ball going through his horse. This distinguished warrior had quitted his retirement in the United States, in consequence of a previous arrangement with the allied monarchs, and had accepted the commission of Major General from the Emperor of Russia, and acted as chief of the staff of the allied armies. It had been supposed, in addition to the weight which his name and talents threw into the common cause of Europe, that it was expected that the French armies might be induced to rally round him in case of any reverse of fortune on the part of Napoleon, and that Moreau, the former favourite

general of France, would be the champion and restorer of the Bourbons. If such were the plans of the allies they were frustrated by a random cannon ball; for after suffering all the torture of a double amputation, General Moreau expired during the retreat which followed the battle of Dresden.

Bonaparte perceiving that the left wing of the allies, composed of Austrians, was in some measure separated from the main army by the intersection of the valley of Plauen, ordered Murat to fall upon it with a great force, and seconded him by other able manœuvres. The attack succeeded so far as to throw the enemy into confusion, and make many thousand prisoners. The allies, perceiving that the French Emperor had pushed a large body of forces across the Elbe at Koningstein and Pina, to possess himself of the passes in their rear, and having suffered severely by the actions of these two bloody days, began their retreat in the evening of the 28th. The French claim on this day, with propriety, a victory, but their boasts of taking 30,000 prison-

ers, 60 cannon, and 40 pair of colours, are in the usual style of European official despatches, where exaggeration of the enemy's losses, and careful concealment of their own disasters, appear to be the main object of the writers. By the subsequent events, the observer is enabled in some measure to separate truth from falsehood.

General Vandamme had the command of the troops which Bonaparte had pushed forward upon the great road of Peterswalde to embarrass the retreat of the allied armies. This movement caused another sanguinary battle on the 29th of August. The Russian column under Count Osterman, who was to return by the pass of Osterwalde, found Vandamme in possession of the pass in the mountains, and most gallantly forced their way through with the bayonet. The Russian guards, under the Grand Duke Constantine, came to their support, and though the French repeatedly returned to the charge, they were kept in check the whole day, and their plan evidently frustrated. The allies acknowledge, however, on this occasion, a loss of 3,000 men,

and suppose the French loss at least double.

The allied armies found themselves under the necessity of making a more general attack on the 30th, upon that division of the French army which had been engaged the preceding day, not only to give time for those columns of the army to fall back which were retiring upon the Altenberg and Dippoldswalde road, but to extricate the Prussian corps of General Kleist, which had not disengaged itself from the mountains. A great proportion of the artillery train and baggage of the allied army had not yet got clear of the mountains when the French appeared at Hollendorf and Kulm, about three German miles from Toplitz. The attack being determined upon, 12,000 Russians and 12,000 Austrians began the battle of Toplitz, the remaining part of the troops collected for this service remaining in columns of reserve in the adjacent plain. The village of Kulm is situated at the bottom of a range of mountains which forms a barrier between Saxony and Bohemia; from this point

branch off two distinct ranges of mountains, east and west; between these ranges the ground is generally flat, affording, however, some good defensible positions. Upon this ground, immediately fronting the village of Kulm, the French collected a strong force of infantry and artillery, and kept up a galling fire upon the Russians under Milaradovitch. Such was the able disposition of the French general, that the allies declined a direct attack upon him, but the Austrians were ordered to move along the high ground upon the right, while the Russian guards and infantry were to commence their attack upon the left so soon as the Austrians were sufficiently advanced. While these movements were executing, the Prussian corps under Kleist unexpectedly appeared in the rear of the French, descending the road by which they would retreat if necessary, and joining in the attack, the French were completely defeated with great confusion, loss, and slaughter. The fruits of this victory to the allies were General Vandamme and six other generals prisoners, 60 pieces of artil-

lery, 10,000 soldiers prisoners, and 6 standards. The commander in chief of the allies in the battle of Toplitz was Barclay de Tolly.

In Silesia the absence of Bonaparte, and the drafts made from that army which had recently beaten Blucher, was taken advantage of by that skilful veteran to attack the French, now under the command of Marshal M'Donald. On the 29th of August, M'Donald was defeated with the loss of 15,000 men prisoners, and 100 pieces of cannon. The number of slain does not appear, or what proportion of loss fell to the share of the victors.

In the mean time the allied army under Bernadotte, which was opposed to the French troops commanded by Marshal Oudinot, who threatened Berlin, was attacked on the 23d of August at the village of Gross Beren. The contest, though severe, was not long doubtful: Oudinot was repulsed and beaten with the loss of 1500 prisoners, 26 pieces of cannon, 30 caissons, and his baggage. This success not only prevented the corps under Girard, which

manœuvred upon Berlin from Magdeburg, from combining with Oudinot, but exposed it to a separate attack on the 27th at Belzig, where it was completely defeated with a loss of 3500 prisoners, 8 pieces of cannon, and part of its baggage. These successes enabled the crown prince to press upon the retreat of Oudinot towards Wittenburg. On the 28th the town of Luckau surrendered to General Tauenzein, with its garrison, 1000 men, and on the 30th the allied army had its advance between Interbock and Zinna.

On the lower Elbe hostilities commenced immediately on the cessation of the armistice, and Marshal Davoust attacked the allies under Count Walmodin, but without any decisive advantage, or any consequence but a mutual slaughter of the soldiers of either part.

Early in September the allied army of reserve under General Beningsen, crossed the Oder, and advanced upon the Bober. The troops which had been at Toplitz for some time, waiting supplies, were again put in motion. The Russians and Prus-

sians, under Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein, with some Austrian divisions, re-entered Saxony by Peterswalde, and Marienburg, and approached Dresden again. Prince Schwartzenberg, with a corps of Austrians, threatened the right of the French in Lusatia.

On the 8th of September the Russians and Prussians, under Count Wittgenstein, who had advanced through the mountains beyond Peterswalde and Zehista, on the road to Dresden, were attacked by the French and defeated. The chief contest was for the village of Dohna, which the French finally forced the allies to abandon; and Wittgenstein retreated to Peterswalde. The allies acknowledged a loss of 1000 killed and wounded. On the 9th Bonaparte joined this portion of his armies and pressed upon the allies, who retreated fighting, until they had accumulated a force sufficient to justify giving battle; they were accordingly drawn up for the contest on the 12th with 100,000 men and 300 pieces of cannon, in strong position. Bonaparte declined the risk, and commenced

a retrograde movement towards Dresden, breaking up the roads in his retreat.

Marshal Davoust having despatched a corps under General Pecheux towards Magdeburg, Count Walmoden crossed the Elbe on the 14th, and surprised the French corps, which was routed with a loss of 3000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The grand armies of France and of the allies from the 13th to the 16th had several affairs and skirmishes each occasionally advancing or receding. On the 16th Bonaparte made an attempt to turn the right of the allies before Kulm, at the same time assailing the centre and left. The French succeeded in gaining the flank of the allies unperceived, and forced them from their position. The Russians and Prussians were saved from absolute defeat by general Coloredo with a corps of Austrians, who advanced and held the French in check. The French likewise succeeded in throwing the centre of the allies into confusion, but finally withdrew to their position on the mountains, keeping possession, however, of the village of Nollendorf, from which

they had driven the allies. The loss of men in this affair was considerable, but is not stated in the despatches.

A French corps under the command of general Lefebre Denouette, consisting of 8000 cavalry, 700 infantry, a squadron of Mamelukes, and a party of Tartars, were attacked near Altenburg by Platoff and his Cossacks, and completely put to rout. Fifteen hundred prisoners and five guns were the fruits of this achievement.

On the side of the army of Bohemia, the allied sovereigns having been joined by the corps of general Beningsen, determined to move forward by their left. The army was ordered to march on the first of October. A variety of manœuvering and some fighting took place in the crossing of the Elbe. General Blucher crossed on the first and attacked the French entrenched posts between Wartenberg and Bledin. The resistance of the French under general Bertrand was, as usual, obstinate, and the contest long and bloody. General D'Yorck's corps carried the strongest position, took above 1000 prisoners, 16 pieces of cannon

with their train. In this action the Prussians suffered severely. A body of 2000 men of the French threw themselves into Wittenberg, the remainder falling back upon Kemberg. Blucher pursued them in the direction of Leipsic. Marshal Ney, with his corps, retreated from Dessau towards Leipsic, to which point the two hostile armies now tended, as if by consent there to settle the destiny of Europe.

It appears that the plan of the French Emperor had been to strike at Prague, and establish himself on the line of supply of the Austrian armies. For this purpose General Vandamme had been pushed forward with assurance of support, which failing, caused his destruction, and the failure of the plan of supply. The French troops in the mountains of Bohemia had suffered extreme distress in consequence. At Dresden great scarcity and consequent misery had been experienced, and the French corps who retraced their steps across the Elbe, were in a deplorable state of suffering.

The army of the allies continued to ad-

vance in a direct line to Leipsic, near which place the head quarters of Prince Schwartzenberg were established early in October. The Prince Royal and General Blucher, having advanced towards the same point, the allied forces had nearly formed a junction; a *rideau* was thus drawn across this part of Saxony, extending from Dessau to Marienburg on the Bohemian frontier. In the mean time Gen. Beningsen drove the French from their intrenchments at Gieshubel and advanced towards Dresden on the great road from Toplitz. The great force brought against Bonaparte, especially by the command of the great resources of Russia and the talents displayed by Bernadotte, who was the prime mover of the allies, placed the French armies in extreme jeopardy, though so lately triumphant before Dresden.

The Crown Prince intended by a movement of the whole allied force to the left bank of the Saale to force Bonaparte to a general battle with forces much superior to his in number and condition, or to embarrass and harass his retreat, if he should

determine upon a measure which the combined movements of the armies of Bohemia, Silesia, and of the north of Germany on his flanks, and all his communications, seemed to render so necessary.

Napoleon manœuvred from Dresden with a large body of cavalry on the right, and all his infantry on the left bank of the Elbe, as far down as Archlau. He made a strong demonstration with 20,000 men, as if to oppose Blucher in his passage of the Elster. But the allies were not to be turned aside from purposes which they knew they had strength to fulfil, and the army of Blucher, being now in close communication with that of the Prince Royal Bernadotte, was marched from Dieben on Jamilz on the 9th, and passed the Mulda; and the Crown Prince concentrated his forces between Zorbig, Radegast, and Bitterfeld.

The French Emperor now concentrated a part of his forces about Eulenberg and Oschatz, between the Mulda and the Elbe. The allies passed the Saale, and were placed in order of battle with their left

upon that river, waiting the further movements of Bonaparte. In the mean time the various corps d'armée of the allies continued to advance, hemming in their adversary until he had taken his stand around Leipsic. But before the decisive events which took place on that memorable field of action, we must record more particularly the movements of the allied armies in their advance, and a bloody battle fought between the French and allied army of Silesia on the 14th of October.

When the allies received certain intelligence that the French armies were withdrawing from the right bank of the Elbe to collect about Leipsic, the Crown Prince occupied with his advanced guard the left bank of the Mulda, and General Blucher had his advance at Merzeberg and Schednitz. On the 14th Blucher pushed his advanced guard on the great road to Leipsic, occupying the villages on each side of it. The French were in force in his front, holding Debutch and Bitterfeld with some troops along the Mulda. The Crown Prince issued orders to march to Halle in

the night of the 14th; but when his troops were in march he took up his head quarters at Sylbitz, and placed the Swedish army with its right at Wilten and its left near Petersberg. General Bulow occupied the centre of his line between Petersberg and Oppin, and the corps of Winzingerode was on the left at Zorbig. Blucher found the fourth, sixth, and seventh corps of the French army, and part of the guard, under Marshals Marmont and Ney; General Bertrand occupying a line with its right at Freyroda and its left at Lindenthal.

The country is open and very favourable to cavalry around these villages; but in front of Radefeld, the French were covered by a wood, and had the advantage of more intersected ground. The plan of attack of the allies was that General Langeron should assault and carry, first Freyroda, and then Radefeld. General D'Yorck, with his corps d'armée, was to move on the great causey leading to Leipsic until he reached Sitzchera, and then to turn to his left and force the French post at Linden-

thal. A corps of Russians was to press on the main road to Leipsic. The corps of Gen. St. Priest was to follow General Langeron. About mid day the cavalry were formed, and the troops at their stations.

The onset was made as directed, and the French retired from their post in advance, but obstinately contested the posts covered by wood on their right, and the villages on their left. At Mockern a most sanguinary conflict ensued, and it was taken and retaken several times with prodigious slaughter on both parts. This was the hottest part of the field, and most of the superior officers were either killed or wounded. At length, numbers prevailed where valour was equal, and the victorious Silesians carried all before them and drove the French beyond the Parthia.

The resistance on the right of the French was nearly as persevering. Here the Russians bore the brunt of the fight, and they were equally successful with their allies. Though the allies gained the victory, it was night alone which put an end to the action. The veteran Blucher held as trophies of

conquest 18 cannon, one eagle, and a few hundred prisoners, and acknowledged a loss of between 6 and 7000 men.

Before we enter into a detail of the battles of Leipsic, on which the fate of the campaign and of Europe depended, let us take a view of the state of that unfortunate city immediately previous and at the time.

Leipsic, the greatest commercial city of Germany, had been open in its declaration of ill will to the French despot, and had consequently suffered a full portion of the miseries and oppression he knew so well to inflict; and all the surrounding country was rendered desolate by an immense army which gathered on all sides, and subsisted in the most licentious and wasteful manner upon the product of the soil and the property of the people, whose own despot was in alliance with the leader of these locust-like protectors. All that had been spared to Saxony from imposts, contributions, and quarterings, was now literally devoured, and the peasant and the villager gladly escaped with their lives from the allies of their king. The citizens of

Leipsic could look from their steeples and see armies which seemed innumerable, literally encircle them. Bodies of troops were constantly entering and passing from the city. The public buildings were hospitals filled with sick and wounded, and supported by the city. Scarcity of food reminded the inhabitants that unless some change soon took place they were doomed to all the horrors of famine. In this state of things they anxiously beheld the approach of the allied armies, forming another and a greater circle around the host that surrounded their city.

The order in which the allied armies approached to the attack of the French was as follows: The corps of General Giulay, Prince Maurice Lichtenstein, Thielman and Platoff, were collected in the neighbourhood of Markradstadt, with orders to move forward on Leipsic, keeping open a communication on the one side with Blucher's army, and on the other these corps were to detach from their right to facilitate the attack of the corps of General Merevelt and the division of Bianchi

Weissendorf, upon Zwackau and Connewitz; at which latter place the bridge across the Pleisse was to be carried. General Nostelz's cavalry were to form on their right. In case of retreat these corps were to retire upon Zeitz. The reserves of the Russian and Prussian guards were to move on to Rotha, where they were to pass the Pleisse and form in columns on its right bank. The reserves of the prince of Hesse Homberg, Generals Mereveldt and Wittgenstein, were also to take post at this station; General Barclay De Tolly to command all the columns on the right bank of the Pleisse. Generals Wittgenstein, Kleist, and Kleinau, were to advance from their respective positions on Leipsic the Russian guards forming their reserve. General Colloredo advanced from Borne as reserve to General Kleinau. The retreat of Colloredo's corps was to be on Chemnetz, and that of Wittgenstein, Kleist, and Kleinau on Altenberg and Penig. The army of General Beningsen was to push on from Coldlitz on Grimma and Wurtzen.

The reader may, after this detail, with the aid of his map, have an accurate notion of the situation and intention of the allies, previous to one of the greatest battles ever fought.

Bonaparte, thus encircled, did not wait to be attacked. Though under disadvantageous circumstances, he had still the spirit of a conqueror, and the skill of a consummate commander. With an army inferior in numbers, the cavalry of which was contemptible in comparison with their adversaries, the French Emperor himself led the battle, and on the 16th of October, the first day of this long scene of carnage, broke the ranks of the allies, and seemed still to be the favourite of victory.

Taking a view of the surrounding hosts from Leipsic, the French army was seen stretching in a vast semicircle from Paunsdorf to Brobstheide, and was lost to the eye in the woods of Konnewitz. Their reserves were in an inner circle near the city. Towards the north and west, the columns were more detached, though the form of the lines was the same. The morning of the

16th was foggy, rainy, and cold; and the first indication of battle was given by the roaring of cannon from Liebert Wolkowitz. Six hundred pieces of artillery were at once brought into action. Two solitary buildings which the French occupied near their centre, were attacked by the Russian infantry, and, after an amazing carnage, carried. The French cavalry, poor as they were, made a desperate push under the direction of Murat, and broke through the line of the allies. Here the combined army suffered most on this day; for though the French were partially repulsed by the Austrian cuirassiers, they carried their point, and caused a change in the order of battle. Other divisions of the allies, advancing towards the city, according to the plan detailed, came successively into action, and the cannon of the allies from Kleinschacher were answered by the French artillery from Lindenau. The allies endeavoured to force the French at Lindenau, but were repulsed by the voltigeurs with great loss. In the afternoon Napoleon claimed a victory, and ordered

the bells of Leipsic to be rung; but the battle raged until six in the evening, and then seemed only to cease by mutual consent at the approach of darkness. The killed and wounded of the day was immense, yet this was but a prelude to the Battle of Leipsic.

On the night of the 16th the inhabitants of Leipsic were ordered to rejoice for a victory obtained by their protectors over the allies; but they still beheld the same hostile circles around their city, marked by lines of fires encircling each other until lost in distance, and saw their public buildings and the corn magazines crowded with mutilated wretches who were brought groaning from the field of their monarch's glory to suffer and die; and those were fortunate who found shelter and assistance in these abodes of misery; for such were the multitudes, that hundreds (it has been asserted that thousands) lay on the pavements without aid, or food, or water to quench their burning thirst.

The 17th of October was passed without renewing the action, and in preparations on

both parts for the struggle of the succeeding day. The allies intended to attack on the 18th, and it was determined to commence from their different points of assembly on the principal villages situated on the great road leading to Leipsic. The armies of the north and Silesia were jointly to attack from the line of the Saale, and upon the French position on the Partha river. General Blucher reinforced the Crown Prince Bernadotte with 30,000 men to attack from the heights of Faucha, while Blucher was to use his utmost endeavours to gain possession of Leipsic. In the event of the whole French force being brought to act against either of these armies they were to support each other and concert further movements.

The French force which had been opposed to Bernadotte and Blucher, had taken up a strong position on the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Faucha, and its left towards Leipsic. The 17th of October appeared to be kept holy because it was the Sabbath, but we know that heroes do not cease from

the work of destruction either at the command of God or Nature. Comparative silence reigned throughout the late scenes of death, but the smoke of burning villages, and the groans of wounded soldiers, and the hum of preparation for further misery, marked this hollow truce as only the deceitful calm which precedes the tempest.

The morning of the 18th of October arrived. The fate of Europe was to be decided by the joint talents of Bernadotte and Blucher, Wittgenstein, Barclay de Tolly, and Schwartzenberg, placed in opposition to Napoleon Bonaparte. Monarchs were engaged as their engines, or stood by as spectators of the scene.

The battle began with the dawn of the day, and before nine o'clock in the morning it raged through the whole line. To force the right of the French and gain possession of the heights of Faucha, was the first object of Bernadotte. The Russian corps of Winzingerode, and the Prussians under Bulow, were destined for this purpose, while the Swedes were ordered to force

the passage of the river, at Pfosen and Mockau. These first operations were successful, and General Winzingerode took 3000 prisoners at Faucha and some guns. The centre of the allies being engaged with the centre of the French near the villages of Stollentz and Probestheyda, General Blucher put his army in motion; and Bernadotte's army had not sufficient time to make their flank movements before the French infantry abandoned the line of the river and retired over the plain, in line and column, towards Leipsic, occupying Paunsdorf, Somerfeldt, and Schonfeldt. Nothing very remarkable happened in this part of the field until near the close of the day, when General Langeron, who had crossed the river, attacked the village of Schonfeldt with great fury, and was repulsed with proportionable loss. He, however, returned to the attack and took it; but was driven out again by a charge of the French. Blucher, hearing of these actions, sent him the most positive order to re-occupy it at the point of the bayonet—and it was done. During the action 22 guns of Saxon artil-

lery joined the allies and two Westphalian regiments. The Saxons composed a principal part of the seventh corps under general Regnier, and were posted in the left wing near Faucha. They had just come into action, and the allies had already brought up a great number of guns against them. To the astonishment of their leader, they marched forward in close files with their muskets clubbed, and went over to the enemy with all their artillery. The artillery was immediately turned upon the French.

The most desperate resistance made by the French on this day was at Probestheyda, Stellerlitz, and Konnewitz; but the columns of the allies, to whom the attack was assigned, carried every point, though at great loss, by a valour and perseverance which was irresistible.

Night closed this bloody contest, in which the French army was defeated with a loss of 40,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners, 65 pieces of artillery, 17 battalions of German infantry, which came over to the allies during the action, with all the

staff and generals, besides the Saxon artillery and Westphalians, before mentioned.

Bonaparte was already on the retreat, and continued during the night of the 18th to withdraw his shattered battalions, and to make such preparations for the defence of Leipsic as should place that city as a barrier between him and the victors. He has in the latter part of his career proved that he was deficient in one essential quality of an accomplished general: he has never provided for the safety of his armies in case of defeat. Without recurring to the examples of the greatest generals, without mentioning Frederick, or Moreau, or Wellington, even the duke of York, the military genius of the English royal family, was better at a retreat than Bonaparte.

On the morning of the 19th the town of Leipsic was attacked and carried; the resistance made by the French was scarcely sufficient to give time to their retiring columns to press out of the city by the Ranstadt gate, and retreat by the line of the Saale, the only road open to them. The armies of Blucher, Bernadotte, and Beningsen,

with the grand army under Wittgenstein and Barclay de Tolly, all pressed upon the retiring foe, and entered Leipsic almost as soon as the French Emperor quitted it.

The horrors and confusion of the retreat has been vividly described by an eye witness. The columns of the French, which entered the town by three gates, had to press their way out through one, while the artillery of the allies thundered upon the city, and their shells had set it on fire in several places. Cries and shouts resounded from every quarter. The retreat of the remaining troops, even before Bonaparte had left the city, had become a disordered rout. Horse and foot guards were mingled together, and their progress impeded by wagons and cannon frequently locked together and choking the way, while droves of cattle were anxiously urged forward for the future sustenance of the fugitives. In the midst of this confusion the emperor was seen with a numerous retinue, all on horseback, making his way with difficulty through the surrounding chaos. A by road was afterwards pointed out to

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him through a garden, by which he passed the outward gate.

Prince Poniatowsky, who had been charged with the defence of that part of the Leipsic suburbs nearest the Borna road, finding his retreat cut off, rushed, at the head of a few Polish cuirassiers and the officers of his *suite*, upon the nearest column of the allies. He had already two wounds, and now received a musket ball in his left arm. He pushed through his enemies, and threw himself into the Pleisse, the opposite bank of which he reached with the loss of his horse; he mounted another, and proceeded to the Elster, the banks of which were already lined by the enemy. He plunged into the river, and with his horse instantly sunk.

After Bonaparte and his marshals had made their escape the rout became more and more confused and destructive. In the meantime, the allied princes, at the head of their respective armies, entered Leipsic at different points, and met in the great square, there to enjoy the acclama-

tions of victory, and rejoice over the downfall of their great enemy.

The retreat of the French from the 20th of October to the 3d of November, from the Saale to the Rhine, was a succession of wo and disaster, only exceeded by the miseries of their retreat the preceding year from the Dnieper to the Niemen. Although it was only during the first six or seven days of the retreat that out of the whole coalesced armies, some divisions of the Silesian army under Blucher could keep up close enough to harass their enemies, yet upwards of 10,000 prisoners were made, 70 pieces of cannon taken, and the route of Bonaparte, as in Russia, was marked by desolation, pillage, and conflagration, and by thousands of the lifeless or expiring victims of his cruel ambition. The disasters of the French did not solely proceed from the enemy that pursued them, or the necessary evils of precipitate flight; Czernichoff, with a body of Cossacks and other light troops, had gained the front of the French army, and though not in force sufficient to offer battle, preceded their march,

preparing for them an endless succession of vexations. They lay in wait for and cut off detached parties; they broke down bridges and destroyed the magazines which had been provided in the towns the French had to pass. In these operations alone Czernichoff is said to have taken 4000 prisoners from the French.

Thus hunted and harassed, they learned, as they approached the Maine, that a severer trial awaited them. General Wrede, with an army, was waiting for them at Kirzig, and the scenes of the Berezina seemed preparing to be enacted anew. Wrede, like Tchitchagoff, stood in the way of further progress, and Blucher, like Wittgenstein, pressed them on from behind. But Field Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg had made too sure of the effectual opposition which Wrede could make at Kirzig, and had ordered General Blucher to turn off towards the Cahn and Coblentz. Bonaparte attacked Wrede with great skill, and was seconded by the desperate valour of the shattered remains of his armies. He burst through the barrier opposed to him, and

perhaps with an equal loss on his own part strewed the field with 10,000 of his opposers. The allies were obliged to retreat, and to evacuate Hanau. This battle was fought on the 30th of October.

The French army pursued their march, leaving a garrison in Hanau, which General Wrede attacked by storm. He was severely wounded in the onset, but the place was taken, and the whole French garrison put to the sword.

For the purposes of freeing the north of Germany of the enemy, of strengthening general Walmoden in his operations against Marshal Davoust, who still held his position on the right bank of the Elbe, of possessing Bremen, the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe, of reducing Hamburg, of restoring Hanover to the king of England, of cutting off Davoust from Holland, and facilitating operations upon that country, the Crown Prince moved with his army towards Hanover and the north.

On the line of the Rhine the operations of the grand allied army under Prince Schwartzenberg brought this portion of

the allies to the vicinity of Frankfort on the Maine by the 5th of November. The Emperors of Russia and Austria entered Frankfort on that day, and were joined by the king of Prussia on the 13th. The kings and princes whom Bonaparte had created hastened to abjure their connexion with France, and secure the protection of the conquerors.

Field Marshal Blucher continued his march for the lower Rhine, and arrived with the army of Silesia at Mulheim on the 13th of November. On the 2d of December a body of troops crossed the river at Dusseldorff, surprised the French garrison at Neuss and destroyed the magazines.

Switzerland, after the overthrow of the French army at Leipsic, declared itself neutral. The act of neutrality was passed by the diet at Zurich on the 20th of November. Deputies were sent to Bonaparte and to the allies for their consent, and troops raised to protect their frontiers.

The advance of the army of Bernadotte reached Hanover on the 1st of November, and the inhabitants hastened to abjure King

Jerome. The navigation of the Weser was restored by the reduction of Carltfort and Blexen. An assault on Stadt was repulsed; but the French garrison, fearing a repetition, withdrew and crossed the Elbe to Hamburg, where Marshal Davoust soon after shut himself up with his army.

When Bonaparte assembled his forces at Leipsic, he left Marshal St. Cyr, with his corps and the remains of the corps of Vandamme, to defend Dresden and cover his flank. On the 17th of October, St. Cyr attacked and defeated the corps of Russians under Tolstoy which was left to mask Dresden. After the battle of Leipsic General Kleinau was sent against St. Cyr, and finally succeeded in making prisoners of his garrison. The garrisons of Stetten, Erfurt, and Dantzig, shared the same fate.

The troops under the direction of Bernadotte continued to advance. Winzingerode established his head quarters at Bremen, and detached troops on Oldenburg and East Friedland, thence they crossed the Ems, entered Holland, and took Croninjen with its garrison. Other Dutch

towns shared the same fate. The corps of Von Bulow entered Holland by the side of Munster, sweeping every thing before it, and putting the garrisons of Doesburg and Arnheim to the sword.

On the news of the approach of the victorious allies the inhabitants of the Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haerlam, Leyden, and some other towns, rose in resistance to the French; who submitted to circumstances, and by agreement withdrew their troops. A provisional government being established at the Hague, deputies were despatched to England to invite the prince of Orange to assume the government, and to solicit aid from the ministry. Some troops were immediately sent off, and an armament under Sir Thomas Graham assembled in the Downs. The prince of Orange arrived at Schevelin on the 30th of November, and he was saluted as sovereign prince of the Netherlands.

Bonaparte re-entered France a second time as a fugitive. His first attention was turned to the finances of the empire, and by a decree of November 11, the taxes

and duties were augmented, and measures were adopted soon after to anticipate the revenue. On the 19th the emperor met his senate. In his address he tells them that the splendid victories he had obtained in the last campaign were rendered useless by the unparalleled defection of his allies; that as he had never been seduced by prosperity, he will be found superior to adversity; that a preliminary basis of negotiation for a peace had been presented to him by the allies, and negotiations entered into thereon; that the delays attendant upon assembling a congress at Manheim are not to be attributed to France; that he wishes for peace, and regrets the necessity of calling upon his people for new sacrifices; that Denmark and Naples alone remain faithful to him; that he has recognized the neutrality of the nineteen Swiss Cantons; and concludes by calling upon the senate for their support.

A new levy of 300,000 conscripts had already been ordered by Bonaparte; which measure called forth a declaration from the allied powers, dated at Frankfort, Dec. 1,

1813, in which they "promulgate anew, in the face of the world, the views which guide them in the present war." They say that they do not make war upon France, but against that preponderance which, to the misfortune of Europe and of France, "the Emperor Napoleon has too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire;" that the first use they have made of victory is "to offer peace to his majesty the emperor of the French;" that the conditions offered are founded on the independence of the French empire, as well as on the independence of the other states of Europe; that they desire that France may be great, powerful, and happy, as being one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe; that they confirm to the French empire an extent of territory which France under her kings never knew; that they desire a partition of strength, by which to preserve their people from such miseries as have been experienced; and that they will not lay down their arms until this object is obtained.

In the meantime preparations for war, offensive and defensive, were carried on with unremitting exertion. Napoleon made his last effort to recruit his exhausted armies, and the allies prepared to cross the Rhine and invade France. On the 20th of December 160,000 men entered Switzerland and crossed the Rhine at Basle, without opposition.

On entering the Swiss territory the commander in chief of the allies, Prince Schwartzenberg, issued an order by which his soldiers were notified that they entered the Swiss territory as friends. Other armies of the allies passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf and at Coblentz. The force that entered France was stated at 300,000 men. Lord Wellington, with the English, Spanish, and Portuguese armies, had previously entered the territory of France by the south, and had gained several bloody battles over Marshal Soult near Bayonne.

The allies had left behind them the strong frontier places of the Rhine in possession of their enemies, and entered France by its most vulnerable part; taking their

route through Franche Compte and Lorraine. They had already addressed a proclamation to the French people in the same style of dignified moderation and wisdom which had characterized their preceding declaration in respect to peace, and which marks such superior talents in the councils of the emperor of Russia. They assured the French people that they did not make war upon them, but only wished to repel the attempts of the government of France to subjugate the states of the confederacy. They promise to respect public order and private property. They disclaim all motives of retaliatory vengeance. They conclude by expressing their desire for that peace which they had offered before entering the territory of France.

Bonaparte, on this as on very many other occasions, had been blind to his own interest through an inordinate wish to promote it. He might have remained and been confirmed on the imperial throne of France; but he demanded Italy. The ministers of fate moved on, and he prepared for the last struggle against his destiny.

On the 30th of December, the senate addressed the French emperor for the last time in the tone and terms of adulation. They told him that they came to offer him the tribute of their attachment and gratitude; that he had given the strongest pledge in his power of his desire for peace; that he acted upon the belief that power is strengthened by being limited, and that the art of promoting the happiness of their people was the chief policy of kings; that the French united under him would not suffer their invaders to triumph; and they conclude with requesting him to obtain peace by a last effort worthy of himself, and then sign "the repose of the world."

In his answer he tells the senate that they have seen what he has done for peace, but in the meantime, Bearn, Alsace, Franche Compte, Brabant, are invaded; he talks of the tenderness of his heart, and calls upon the French to succour the French; concluding with, "the question is now no more to recover the conquests we have made."

In this extremity the tottering Emperor was deserted by almost his last ally; Denmark entered into treaties of peace and alliance with Sweden and England, and engaged to furnish to the allies 10,000 men, England paying willingly a subsidy of 400,000*l.* for the purpose of opening new markets to her ships and manufactures. England had before entered into a treaty with Sweden to give her Norway, and in case Denmark would not consent England was to assist in the conquest. To this arrangement Denmark now acceded by force; but the Norwegians refuse to be transferred, and declare themselves independent.

Marshal Davoust continued to hold Hamburg, and indicated a determination to defend the place to the last extremity. He had ordered the inhabitants to lay in a stock of provisions for six months. The period allowed to procure this supply having expired, he issued an order directing all those who had neglected fulfilling the injunction to quit the city, and 5000 inhabitants were in consequence expelled.

In the meantime the armies of the allies moved on to their destined point without any obstacle of consequence, until Bonaparte in person put himself in opposition to the veteran Prussian General Blucher at the battle of La Rothiere. The French emperor, having appointed the empress Maria Louisa again regent, left Paris on the morning of the 25th of January, 1814, to take the command of the armies of France.

Field Marshal Blucher having been complimented with the command of the Austrian corps of Count Guilay and the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, in addition to the Russian and Prussian armies before under his orders, found himself opposed in his advances towards Paris by an army commanded by the Emperor in person. The allied forces were at least 30,000 at this point, the French perhaps nearly equal in number.

Marshal Blucher, after a reconnoisance made on the morning of the 1st of February, gave the following directions for an attack.

The corps of General Baron Sachen was ordered to move forward in two columns from Trannes, one taking the direction of Brienne by the road of Dienville, and the second on the village of La Rothiere. The corps of General Count Guilay formed the reserve of the first column, and that of General Alsufieff, the second. The Russian guards were ordered to form a reserve for the whole, on the heights between Trannes and Eclance.

The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg was ordered to march from Eclance upon Chaumenil, leaving a small wood in front of the right of the position of the allies occupied by the French, on his left, with a view of turning it and opening a communication with General Count Wrede, who was advancing upon Chaumenil from Doulevent.

The attack commenced precisely at 12 o'clock. The French were in position at Dienville and La Rothiere, having their left at the small village of La Gibrie. Their cavalry, as well as that of the allies, was drawn out in the plain between the two positions. The French infantry dis-

posed in large masses on the flanks of, and within the villages, which were lined with artillery.

Skirmishing and cannonading in the plain were the preludes to the attack, which was made with irresistible impetuosity by the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, who drove the French from the village, but had scarcely occupied it when in their turn they attacked, beat, and expelled him. A brigade of grenadiers were ordered to his support; he again attacked, and after a long and sanguinary contest remained master of the wood and the village. During these operations, the result of which remained doubtful for three hours, the French emperor menaced the flank position of the allies, but the veteran Blucher was not to be turned from steadily pursuing the combinations on which the result of the day depended. The effect of the combination of General Wrede's movement was accurately foreseen, and before the village of La Gibrie was in the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg's possession, every requisite order was given for the execution of move-

ments depending upon that event and the approach of Wrede.

Bonaparte having moved a corps to his left, General Baron Sachen drew all his force to the attack of La Rothiere, which formed the key of the French position.

General Count Guilay attacked the town of Dienville, but was repeatedly repulsed; the conflict continued through the whole day with various success, but with nearly equal carnage. Night interrupted, but did not terminate the struggle, and it was nearly midnight before the French abandoned this post, and then only in consequence of the general movement of the army.

The most bloody and obstinate resistance, however, was made to the superior force of veteran troops, by the French, who were posted at La Rothiere. Baron Sachen carried the place by an irresistible attack, but was in his turn expelled from part of the village, and the artillery and musketry of the French was directed from the church and adjoining houses, while the Russians kept up an equally destructive fire from others. Bonaparte in person led

on an attack at the head of his young guards, and had a horse shot under him. Here too the fight continued longer than the day, but about 10 o'clock the village was abandoned to the Russians.

The French retreated about midnight in two columns upon Lesmont, Lessicourt, and Ronay. On the right of the village of La Rothiere, Gen. Sachen took twenty pieces of cannon and some hundreds of prisoners. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg advanced upon Chaumenil, and formed his junction with General Count Wrede. The former took six pieces of cannon, the latter seventeen. The loss in killed and wounded was very great.

Immediately after the battle commenced the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia, with Field Marshal Prince Schwartzenberg, came upon the field. Field Marshal Blucher immediately afterwards proceeded to the front to carry into effect the dispositions he had made. He was among the foremost in the attack of the village of La Rothiere when on the other part his great adversary led the attack. This bat-

tle is called by the allies, the battle of La Rothiere, by the French, of Brienne.

The French columns began to retire about midnight, but they still occupied the position of Brienne at daylight on the 2d of February; on which day General Guilay moved with his corps along the Aube upon the right of the French army, the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg marched upon Brienne, General Wrede advanced upon the right of the Prince Royal. The French continued to retire upon Lesmont, Lessicourt, and Ronay. Several minor actions took place during the day.

Prince Schwartzenberg received a sword from the Emperor Alexander, in testimony of his admiration of his skill and talents in bringing his army without loss from the frontiers of Switzerland, traversing all the defences on this side of France, and forming a junction with Marshal Blucher in time to gain so distinguished a victory, nor was the high merits of the veteran field marshal, so often opposed in person to Bonaparte, or that of the other generals,

forgotten or unrewarded by distinguishing marks of approbation.

On the 5th of February an affair took place between the advance of the corps of general D'Yorck, and the rear of that of Marshal M'Donald near La Chaussée, between Vitry and Chalons. M'Donald continued to retire upon Chalons. Three cannon and some hundreds of prisoners were taken by the allies, who followed upon the road to Chalons, and on the French entering that town, immediately commenced a bombardment. Marshal M'Donald entered into a capitulation to save the town, by which he agreed to evacuate the place on the 6th, which was accordingly done, the French retiring to the left bank of the Marne.

Troyes was taken possession of by the allies on the 7th of February. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg had on the day preceding turned the French position near Ravigni; they abandoned Troyes in the evening, and the prince entered it next morning.

Thus, while Prince Schwartzenberg's army, which had separated from Blucher after his victory of La Rothiere, was advancing upon Paris by the Seine, Blucher drew by forced marches towards the Marne, with the design of approaching Paris in the direction of that river.

This separation was not only judicious but necessary, from the facility it gave of gaining supplies; however, it appears that the angle of these two lines of operation was too contracted. Bonaparte, who retreated towards Paris, was between the two lines of march, and in advance, and with the same troops might operate upon both at short intervals, and could on occasion cut off all communication between the two armies.

The army of Field Marshal Blucher on the 10th of February occupied a very extended position. Its head under General Baron Sachen was at La Ferté sous Jouarre; General D'Yorck was at Chateau Thierry; an intermediate division under General Alsufieff was at Champau-

bert, and Blucher himself, with Langeron's corps, at Vertus.

Bonaparte saw and seized the opportunity given him by the extension of Blucher's army, broke up from Nogent on the 9th of February, and on the 10th attacked the Russian division under Alsufieff at Champaubert, which, after a valiant resistance, was killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, including their general; not more than 1600 men escaping, who joined the division under the immediate care of Blucher. On the 11th of February Marshal Blucher's head quarters were at Bergeres, and on that day Generals D'Yorck and Sachen, in consequence of the successful attempt which Bonaparte had made to break the line, turned about, and after forming a junction, marched on Montmirail. Here a severe action ensued. The generals of the allies withstood the attacks of the French emperor with great firmness, and held their position through the day, though with immense loss. The hottest part of the action was at the village of Marchais, which was repeatedly taken and retaken.

Bonaparte succeeded in cutting off the allies from the main division of Blucher's army, and they retreated in the night upon Chateau Thierry, with the loss of four cannon. At Chateau Thierry, Generals Sachen and D'Yorck passed the Marne on the 12th, destroyed the bridge, and by circuitous routes retreated towards Chalons. On the 13th Marshal Mortier, having repaired the bridge, crossed the Marne in pursuit of Sachen and D'Yorck, and the same day Bonaparte arrived at Chateau Thierry, with intent to follow in the same direction, but he was the same evening recalled by new events to Montmirail.

Field Marshal Blucher, with the two corps of Kleist and Langeron, had broken up from Vertus on the 13th to attack the corps of Marmont, which Bonaparte had left at Etoges as a corps of observation upon the Prussian veteran. Blucher advanced his head quarters to Champaubert. Marmont had a small corps of from 9 to 10,000, and was obliged to retreat fighting, to the neighbourhood of Montmirail, where he was joined by Bonaparte, who

had made a forced march with the whole of his guards and a large body of cavalry. A very severe action now took place. Marshal Blucher being inferior in numbers, particularly in cavalry, formed his infantry into squares, and commenced a retreat. The French made repeated and desperate charges with their cavalry upon these squares of infantry, which, although sustaining great loss, retired with that admirable firmness which characterizes the German troops. After a very severe and unequal contest, carried on during a retreat of nearly four leagues, the Prussian marshal observed a large body of cavalry posted on the Chaussée in his rear near Etoges. He resolved to force his way through this obstacle, and by opening a heavy fire of artillery and musketry upon this cavalry, posted in a solid mass on the Chaussée he succeeded in forcing them to retire. Upon reaching Etoges, towards night, the French made a new attack upon the allies with a body of their infantry, which Bonaparte had pushed through by-roads upon the flank and rear of his retreat-

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ing adversary. Through this impediment the Prussians with renewed slaughter made their way. In this manner Field Marshal Blucher regained his former position near Vertus, with an acknowledged loss of 3,500 men.

Blucher continued his retreat to Chalons, where, on the 16th, he was joined by the corps of Sachen and D'Yorck, and here the Silesian army, which had sustained an acknowledged loss of 13,000 men, was forthwith put under reorganization.

It is not likely that Bonaparte would have left his veteran adversary undisturbed at Chalons, to recruit his strength and prepare again for offensive operations, but that his presence was called for to oppose the progress of Prince Schwartzenberg with the main army of the allies. The French emperor was under the necessity of facing both armies of the allies with the same troops, and had no sooner beaten back all the corps of Blucher than he was recalled to fight the divisions of Schwartzenberg, which threatened Paris.

The corps which Bonaparte had left

on the Seine, under Victor and Oudinot, to observe Schwartzenberg's movements, were too weak to act with any effect even on the defensive. The allies under Prince Schwartzenberg moved from Troyes on the 10th. Nogent and Sens were taken by storm, and the French forces retired from the left to the right bank of the Seine, after destroying the bridges. Count Wittgenstein advanced towards Pont-sur-Seine, General Wrede towards Bray, and having replaced the bridges, followed in pursuit. Wrede advanced upon Provins. The corps of the allies under the prince of Wirtemberg, Bianchi, and Guilay, made good their passage against an ineffectual resistance, and on the 16th of February the head quarters of Prince Schwartzenberg were advanced to Bray, and the next day Platoff entered Fontainbleau. The same day the advance of the grand army was within 40 miles of Paris, at Nangis.

But here, too, the activity and valour of the French emperor and his troops changed the aspect of affairs. On the 17th Bonaparte had placed himself in a situation to

commence offensive operations upon the grand allied army, and on the 18th he attacked Count Wittgenstein's corps at Nangis, and beat it back, with a great loss of men and artillery. Prince Schwartzenberg was obliged to retrace his steps, and recross the Seine. The French pursued with repeated attacks upon his rear.

On the 19th Bonaparte attacked the corps of the prince royal of Wirtemberg, posted on Montereau, and occupying the bridge at that place. The allies contended against the fury of repeated assaults until late in the day, when the French succeeded in driving them from their positions, and occupying the bridge.

On the 21st the French head quarters were again at Nogent; and on the 23d Bonaparte appeared before Troyes. To secure the town from destruction, an agreement was entered into, by which the allies were permitted to leave the place without molestation, and on the 24th the French emperor entered.

Meanwhile Marshal Blucher, after resting his army a few days, and collecting

every reinforcement within reach, had set out to form a junction with the grand army under Prince Schwartzenberg. On the 21st of February, he had scarcely arrived at Mery upon the Seine, and relieved Wittgenstein's corps, when the town was attacked by two corps from the opposite side, without any further result than burning the town. Blucher maintained his position. This movement of Marshal Blucher facilitated the retrograde movements of Prince Schwartzenberg, and both armies now retired.

Marshal Blucher broke up from Mery on the 23d of February, crossed the Aube the next day near Auglure, and marched across the country towards La Ferté Gaucher. This movement appears to have been with a view of being reinforced by the corps of Bulow, Woronzow, and Winzingerode, which were advancing from the north, the latter having already taken Soissons by assault, and made prisoners its garrison of 2000 men. By effecting a junction with these corps, Blucher would have command of a most imposing army, and

might change front and operate from the northward against Paris, placing himself in such a relative situation to Schwartzenberg, that Bonaparte should no longer operate with the same forces upon both.

Thus the first attempt of the allies failed to gain possession of the capital of the French empire. It has been seen that on the 11th of February, the army of Silesia under Blucher had reached Ferté sous Jouarre, only 45 miles from Paris; on the 16th, it had retreated 78 miles, to Chalons, collecting its scattered divisions 123 miles from the French capital. On the 17th the grand army under Schwartzenberg occupied Fontainbleau and Nangis, 45 miles from Paris; on the 19th it had fallen back 75 miles to Troyes, or 111 from the metropolis.

Great was the exultation of the French emperor at these successes, which were magnified beyond all bounds to inspire the people with confidence. The armies of the allies were represented as not merely repulsed, but dispersed, broken, annihilated. It was soon, however, seen that

these annihilated armies were not only in being, but in greater force, advancing to new conflicts, to be terminated by a glorious peace.

When Marshal Blucher marched upon La Ferté Gaucher, Marshal Marmont retired with his corps to La Ferté Jouarre, on the Marne, where he was joined by the corps of Mortier, who had been posted at Chateau Thierry to observe Winzingerode. By a skilful demonstration upon Meaux, which menaced Marmont's communication with Paris, Blucher compelled him to evacuate La Ferté sous Jouarre, and leave open a passage for the allies, which was effected without opposition by crossing the Marne on the 28th of February. Meanwhile Bonaparte, having intelligence of the movement of Blucher, broke up from Troyes on the 27th of February, and leaving an inefficient force to watch Prince Schwartzenberg, marched to oppose the army of Silesia. On the 1st of March, Bonaparte arrived upon the Marne, but Blucher was advancing upon Soissons. This place, which had been several

times taken and retaken, was now in the possession of the allies, and served as the point of concentration for all the troops destined to act under Blucher. On the 3d of March the field marshal was joined by the corps of Winzingerode, Woronzow, and Bulow, and his army extended from Soissons along the Aisne as far as Craone.

On the 4th Bonaparte arrived on the Aisne, and next day attempted to force a passage at Soissons. An obstinate contest took place, but he was baffled with loss. He then defiled the principal part of his army to the right, and on the 6th succeeded in crossing the river higher up, at Bery le Bec. On the 7th he attacked the left wing of Blucher's army at Craone. Here was fought a bloody battle. The left wing of the allies, commanded by Winzingerode, where the principal attack was made, suffered an immense loss, and Blucher once more retreated before Bonaparte with a loss of 10,000 men, put *hors de combat.*

After the battle of Craone the veteran marshal took another and a stronger posi-

tion in a very commanding situation, immediately in front of Laon. On the 9th Bonaparte appeared in front of Blucher's position, and with about 80,000 men made a general and murderous attack, which lasted during that and the next day. During this tremendous contest, which terminated in the retreat of the French, the right and centre of the allies could do no more than maintain themselves in their strong position; but in the left wing, where the corps of D'Yorck and Sachen fought, the French assailants were finally discomfited with great loss, leaving 6000 prisoners and 48 pieces of artillery with the allies.

Though repulsed with this loss, Bonaparte left his adversary unable or unwilling to pursue him, and immediately moved upon Rheims, where on the 12th the allies under General St. Priest had taken a position. Bonaparte attacked him on the 13th with the advance of his army, consisting of artillery and cavalry. The Russian artillery and infantry maintained the conflict for some hours. St. Priest was struck from

his horse by a cannon ball, and carried off the field. The Russian cavalry were borne down by numbers and cut to pieces. The allies at length fled precipitately through Rheims, pressed upon by an overwhelming force of cavalry, and lost, beside killed and wounded, 5000 prisoners.

During the removal of the main French army and emperor from the Seine, Prince Schwartzenberg, who was undoubtedly obstructed by a very inferior force, moved forward to re-occupy the ground he had lost, but gained no advantages of a decided or important nature. On the 4th his head quarters were at Troyes, at which place he continued until the 13th. On the 15th of March, in consequence of Bonaparte's retreat from before Blucher at Laon, Schwartzenberg moved to Pont sur Seine and assumed an aspect of offence. Several corps were put in motion, but the news of the defeat of St. Priest at Rheims checked all these movements. On the 16th the head quarters of prince Schwartzenberg were at Arcis, and Bo-

naparte advancing from Rheims upon Fere Champenoisse. The movements of the commanders of the allies were now directed towards forming a junction, and those of Bonaparte to obstruct that object. Frequent changes of position, with actions between small corps of the contending armies, took place. On the 19th we find Bonaparte in possession of Arcis, and the next day the allies concentrated all the corps of the main army before Arcis, and offered battle, but about one o'clock the French army were perceived filing off on the other side of the Aube, and their columns taking the direction of Vitry. Their rear guard, in Arcis, was attacked by the Prince of Wirtemberg, but they valiantly defended themselves, and covered the movement of the army.

Marshal Blucher, being joined by the remains of the corps of St. Priest, moved upon Rheims, which his advance entered as the rear of the French retreated. The army of Silesia moved forward to their junction with the grand army.

In the evening of the 21st of March,

the whole of the French army was in march for Vitry. That night the French emperor remained at Sommessus; on the following day the advance of his army arrived at Vitry, and summoned the place to surrender. A Prussian colonel, with 4000 men, held it for the allies, and refused to surrender, which obliged the French commander to cross the Marne by bridges which he constructed near Frignicourt. Bonaparte here passed his whole army on the 23d and 24th of March, and immediately took the direction of St. Dézier. Marshals Ney and M'Donald were in front of the allies, filing to join the emperor at St. Dezier.

Bonaparte might now have had one of these three objects in view: either by movements round the right of the allies to force them back; or, if that failed, to operate upon their communications, and even proceed to form a junction with marshal Augereau; or, lastly, by moving to his fortresses of Metz, &c. prolong the war by resisting on a new line, while he placed the allies in the centre of France, having taken

the best precautions in his power for the safety of his capital.

It is said that the allies knew this last to be his plan by means of an intercepted letter, and that Prince Schwartzenberg regulated his movements accordingly. The bold resolution was taken of forming the junction of the two armies to the westward, thus placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding with a united force of at least 200,000 men to the capital of the French empire.

In order the better to mask this movement, the march of the allied army was made from Pougey, Lesmont, and Arcis on Vitry; the emperor of Russia, by two extraordinary marches of 18 and 12 leagues, established his head quarters, with those of the marshal prince Schwartzenberg, at Vitry on the 24th of March.

On the 25th the combined armies marched in three columns to Fere Champenoisse. All the cavalry of the army formed the advance, and were to push forward to Sezanne. Marshal Blucher had arrived at Chalons, and his cavalry, under

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Winzingerode and Czernichoff, had entered Vitry on the 23d, and had been immediately despatched to follow up Bonaparte's march to St. Dizier, and threaten his rear. Winzingerode's infantry had remained with Blucher at Chalons, together with Woronzoff and Sachen's corps. Bulow had marched to attack Soissons; and Generals D'Yorck and Kleist had moved on the line of Montmirail. It is pretty obvious, from these movements, that if Bonaparte had not crossed the Aube, and, passing between the armies of Blucher and Schwartzenberg, thrown them between himself and Paris, he would have found himself in a similar situation to that which proved so fatal to him at Leipsic.

It appears that the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier had been ordered by Bonaparte to join him, previous to his adopting his late plan; or, perhaps, were, without instructions, retiring from before Marshal Blucher, and, ignorant of their emperor's plans, were moving down towards Vitry to join him. Certain it is that Marmont's advance was within a very

short distance of Vitry on the night of the 24th, without any suspicion that the place was in the hands of the allies.

On the morning of the 25th of March the advanced guard of the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg fell in with the advance of Marmont soon after he had commenced his march. The French, perceiving a great force advancing upon them, retired. The cavalry pursued, and the Russian guards charged the French cuirassiers, and afterwards the infantry, taking 1000 prisoners, 10 cannon, with caissons, wagons, &c.

Upon the arrival of Prince Schwartzenberg at Fere Champenoisse, a large body of French were observed marching directly upon head quarters. This proved to be a detached column of 5,000 men under Gen. Ames, which had been making its way under the protection of Marmont's corps from the neighbourhood of Montmirail to join the emperor's grand army. This corps had in charge an immense convoy with 100,000 rations of bread and ammunition. The cavalry of Marshal

Blucher had first discovered this corps, and had driven it upon Fere Champenoisse, as the cavalry of the grand army was advancing. Some charges of cavalry had been made upon this corps, principally composed of young troops and national guards; they were formed in squares, and defended themselves with the skill and firmness of veterans. When they were completely surrounded by the cavalry of both armies, some officers were sent to demand their surrender, but they refused, and seemed determined to cut their way through their enemies, marching on and firing without cessation. A battery of Russian artillery was opened upon them, which broke down their ranks with terrible slaughter; and this was followed by renewed charges of cavalry, which completed their destruction. The corps of Marmont and Mortier retreated upon Paris, and left in the hands of the allies on this occasion between 80 and 90 pieces of cannon, from 6 to 7,000 prisoners, beside the convoy above mentioned.

Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, who had moved from Montmirail to La Ferté Gaucher, arrived on the 26th, in time to augment the discomfiture of this portion of the French army. General D'Yorck's corps made 1,500 prisoners. Nothing but a continued series of forced marches could have enabled Marmont and Mortier to carry off the remains of this army into Paris.

On the 26th of March the grand army of the allies was in motion in three columns from Fere Champenoisse. The head quarters of the emperor of Russia and Prince Schwartzenberg were at Treffou; the cavalry of Count Pahlen were pushed on beyond La Ferté Gaucher, and joined Generals D'Yorck and Kleist; the cavalry and reserve were bivouacked at La Vergere, on the right of the great road; the 6th and 4th corps were in the centre; the 5th on the left, and the 3d remained in the rear to cover all the baggage, artillery, parks, and train, and to make the march of the whole compact. Some partisan corps occupied the country about Arcis

and Troyes, between the Marne and Seine rivers.

Generals Winzingerode and Czernichoff, who continued to follow on the rear of Bonaparte with 10,000 cavalry and 40 pieces of cannon, found that he was marching by Brienne to Bar sur Aube and Troyes, thus hastening back to the capital with the utmost precipitation.

On the 28th and 29th of March the united armies of Prince Schwartzenberg and Marshal Blucher passed the Marne at Triport and Meaux. The French opposed but a feeble resistance to the passage of the river. About 10,000 of the national guard endeavoured to make a stand before a part of the army of Silesia between La Ferté Jouarre and Meaux, but General Horne, placing himself at the head of some squadrons, pierced the French infantry and took their commander prisoner. On the evening of the 28th General D'Yorck was severely engaged near Claye; he, however, succeeded, after some obstinate fighting, in dislodging the

French troops from the woods about that place.

On the 29th the whole army (with the exception of the corps of Wrede and Sachen, which were left in position at Meaux) advanced upon Paris. Continual skirmishing took place, but the French retired, giving up Pantin, on their right, and the ground in front of Montmartre on their left.

Previous to the junction of Marshals Marmont and Mortier's corps with the garrison of Paris, that capital had only for its defence a part of General Gerard's corps, with about 8,000 regular troops, and the national guards, amounting to about 30,000 men, under General Kulin. Joseph Bonaparte, with this inadequate force, had charge of the defence of the capital of France. Marmont and Mortier rendered him every assistance in their power.

On the 30th of March the French occupied with their right the heights of Fontenoy, Romainville, and Belleville; their left was on Montmartre, and they had several redoubts in the centre, on the canal

de l'Ourque, and on the whole line a train of artillery of above one hundred and fifty pieces. This position was strong from the intersected nature of the ground on its right. The heights of Montmartre commanded the plain in the rear of the canal de l'Ourque, and added strength to the French position; but it is easily seen, that the force of the defenders was by no means adequate to resist an army of 200,000 Russians, Austrians, and Prussians, flushed with victory, inured to discipline, and directed by generals equal, at least, to the marshals of France.

In order to attack the French positions, the Silesian army was directed upon Montmartre, St. Denis, and the villages of La Valette and Pantin; while the grand army attacked the right of the French, on the heights of Fontenoy, Romainville, and Belleville.

The 6th corps, under Reiffsky, moved from Bondy, in three columns of attack, supported by the guards and the reserves. Leaving the great route of Meaux, they attacked the heights of Romainville and

Belleville, which, as well as Montmartre, are very commanding, the ground between being covered with villages and country seats. These heights command Paris, and the country around.

Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, with his division of the 6th corps, commenced the attack, and endured for a long time a most galling fire of artillery, but being supported by the reserves of grenadiers, he carried the heights of Romainville, and the French retreated to those of Belleville. The Prince Royal of Wirtemberg supported this attack by a simultaneous movement, upon the heights of Rosney and Charenton. The 3d corps of the army was placed in echellon, near Nuilly, in reserve, as well as the cavalry.

The attack of the Silesian army was delayed by some accident, and did not commence so soon as that of Prince Schwartzenberg. But the columns of Blucher were soon seen debouching under Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, and attacking the French positions at Auberville and Saare. At Pantin the French made a gallant re-

sistance to the overwhelming numbers of their enemies, but the place was carried by the allies at the point of the bayonet.

In the centre a strong redoubt and battery kept General D'Yorck in check for a long time, but the right flank of the French having been gained by the successful attack upon Romainville, they were obliged to retire from this position.

The French commanders, seeing the unavailing resistance which their brave troops were making to superior numbers, demanded a cessation of hostilities, offering to give up all the ground without the barriers of Paris, until further arrangements could be made.

The chiefs of the allies, guided by that wisdom which has so eminently distinguished their councils, and so conspicuously led them to victory, immediately acceded to the proposition. Count Par, aid-de-camp to the emperor of Russia, and Colonel Orloff, aid-de-camp to Prince Schwartzenberg, were sent to arrange the cessation of hostilities. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the battle had ceased, and

Count Nesselrode, his imperial majesty's minister, entered Paris.

It is sometimes useful, and always agreeable, to follow the thought which so often suggests itself, "if such an event had not happened, what would have been the consequence?" for although the destined chain of causes and effects is undeviating and unchangeable, we can imagine a link removed, and replace it by another, whose consequences inevitably lead to a result widely different from the reality. Thus, if Bonaparte had, instead of throwing himself in the rear of the allies, kept himself between them and Paris, we must imagine from this day's conflict, in which the French had so slender a force to oppose to the immense host of their assailants, that all the army of Bonaparte, with the unbroken corps of Marmont and Mortier, would have given a fearful, perhaps a fatal check to the progress of the allied sovereigns. But happily for mankind, Napoleon rushed blindly, in more than one instance, to his destruction; and the moment had now arrived when empire and power

were to fall from him, and a new system of things commence under the guidance of those councils which had overthrown him. The day after the battle of Paris, the allied princes entered that capital, and their entry may be considered as the signal of the complete downfal of Napoleon Bonaparte; perhaps by previous agreement with the leaders of the French people.

Before we enter upon the detail of the arrangements by which peace was restored to Europe, we will look back to the events which were passing in the north, in Italy, and in the south of France, during the march of the allies to Paris.

We have seen that the crown prince of Sweden, in November, entered Hanover, and pushed forward his troops into Holland. In both these countries this prince was deservedly popular. His great talents and consummate prudence, which had been so eminently useful in the councils of the allies during the progress of the war were now usefully exerted in the north; while Russia, Austria, and Prussia attract-

ed the gaze of the world on a more splendid scene of action. In February he was still in Hanover, and addressed a proclamation to his countrymen, the French, in which he declares that the intention of the allies is not to divide France, but to secure their own independence: he accuses Bonaparte of being the author of all the evils which Frenchmen suffer, but somewhat ludicrously reproaches them with serving a man not born among them. On the 12th of February, when crossing the Rhine and entering with his Swedes the territory of his native country, he again addressed his French countrymen; he tells them, that at the command of his king he had taken up arms for the defence of Sweden; that he had avenged the Swedes, and assisted in effecting the liberation of Germany; that the object of the war, on the part of the allies, is to secure themselves, not to injure France, and that his principal happiness will conist, after fulfilling his duty to his adopted country, "in securing the future happiness of his former countrymen."

Hamburg, in possession of the French, under Marshal Davoust, continued to experience the misery resulting from the presence of a garrison of foreigners, who seized upon every resource, which the city presented, to retard that event which the inhabitants most wished.

In Holland the leaders of the people, not content with the restoration of the ancient constitution, and the hereditary stadtholdership in the house of Orange, changed the character of the government to that of a limited monarchy. On this occasion the prince of Orange issued an address, on the 2d of December, 1813, in which he disavowed all inclination to assume any other title than that of stadtholder, but submitted his will, like a dutiful sovereign, to the will of his subjects. The sovereign prince issued a decree, annulling all the duties and restrictions established by the French government. The work of rectification and reëstablishment went on happily; and on the 3d of March, 1814, William of Orange and Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands, issued

a proclamation, in which he says, that having been called to the sovereignty by the people, he has declared that he undertook the same only under the guaranty of a constitution, which should secure the freedom of the people against all abuses: that he had considered it his duty to summon together "men of consideration," and to charge them with the task of establishing a fundamental code corresponding to the habits, wishes, and necessities of the people; that this had been performed and submitted to him; that he approves of it: but as it concerns the whole of the people, the people must be consulted thereon; that the people must receive the strongest assurance that their interests are attended to by the constitution, that religious freedom shall be secured, that education shall be attended to, that personal freedom shall be no longer an empty name, that the administration of justice shall be impartial, that commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, shall not be obstructed, that no restraint be imposed on the domestic economy of the people, that by the coöpe-

ration of the two principal branches of the government, the general laws shall be founded on the true interests of the state, that "the finances, and the arming of the people, the main pillars of the body politic, be placed in that central point upon which the greatest and most invaluable privilege of a free people—their independence—may be firmly fixed." After taking a glance at the miseries the country has suffered, he calls upon the people to support him in his efforts to reëstablish the country, and states, that in order to be enabled to judge whether the constitutional code, thus framed, be a means of obtaining the end wished, he purposes to submit it, for maturer consideration, to an assembly of the best qualified persons; he has, therefore, appointed a special commission, to choose, out of a list given in to him, 600 persons, in due proportion to the population of the existing departments, who, when confirmed by the people (as after directed) shall meet on the 28th of March, 1814, at Amsterdam, and determine this weighty business." The prince goes on to

say, that a list of the persons chosen for each department shall be made public; that any inhabitant, being a housekeeper, may, by signing his name in a register which shall lay open for eight days in each canton, disapprove of any person or persons whom he may deem unqualified; and that, when it shall appear to him, from summing up the registers, that the majority are satisfied with the persons thus submitted to their election, he shall consider them as the representatives of the whole Dutch people, call them together, appear in the midst of them, and salute them as such; that they shall, in freedom, proceed in their labour, and report by a committee their progress to him, and as the constitutional code is adopted, he will take the oath prescribed, and be installed in state.

In the mean time, the English army which had been sent to the Netherlands to coöperate with the allies appears to have sustained a series of defeats and disasters. Sir T. Graham, distinguished in the history of the present war by the sanguinary as-

saults of St. Sebastian, met with repulse in two attempts upon Antwerp early in February, but his defeat in an attack upon Bergen-op-Zoom, on the 8th of March, was singularly disgraceful to the English arms. This almost impregnable masterpiece of the great engineer Cohorn was assaulted by the orders of General Graham, and attempted to be carried by a *coup de main*, without the requisite breaching being made, or, as it appears, any sufficient ground to justify the assault.

The attack was made in four columns on the night of the 8th of March. It had been given out that an attempt was to be made on Fort Lillo, between Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom. Bergen is on a rising ground, or hill, protected by a marsh on the southeast, and watered by the little river Zoom, which is distributed into dykes and canals. On the west it is washed by a branch of the Scheldt. It is stated that the French commander wished to evacuate the place, and that the inhabitants were in favour of the assailants.

On the southeast side, and on the north side, next to Mòlen, the attack was made simultaneously, and, at first, with some success. Assisted by the ice, the English traversed the morass, scaled the empalements and cheveaux-de-frize, and gained possession of part of the rampart. The garrison was taken by surprise, and made feeble resistance to the first divisions of assailants, but no confusion ensued; the French flew to their posts, and made their usual skilful and valiant defence. Major General Cooke commanded the left column of the English, Major General Skerritt and Brigadier General Gore accompanied the right, which was the first that forced its way into the place. The two columns were to move along the rampart, so as to form a junction as soon as possible, clear the ramparts, and assist the centre column, or force the Antwerp gate. The left column was thrown into disorder by finding a difficulty in passing the ditch on the ice, and their attack was delayed until half past 11 o'clock. They assaulted by escalade, but their enemy was prepared for them. The French,

from the tops of the walls, raised up the ladders with hooks, and dashed down the men on the frozen ditches. The gates were opened from within, and the greater part of this column likewise gained the ramparts. Meanwhile General Gore and Colonel Carleton were killed, Major General Skerritt severely wounded, and the right column fell into disorder, and suffered proportionably in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The English guards were drawn up, and prepared to fire by platoons, when they were ordered to throw out their priming, and charge; they advanced at the *pas de charge*, but were mowed down by showers of balls which laid nearly the whole brigade prostrate. A detachment of the guards which had been sent to the assistance of Colonel Carleton, and to secure the Antwerp gate, were totally cut off.

The centre column, having been forced back with great loss, and its commanders both killed, were re-formed under the command of a major, and marched to the assistance of General Cooke.

After a night of confusion, disaster, and slaughter, the day broke, only to show the English their forlorn situation, and to expose them, unprotected, on the ramparts, to the surer aim of their enemies' guns. The reserve of the fourth column, the Royal Scots, getting under a destructive cross fire, threw down their arms. The French commander, General Bizanet, took the first opportunity which daylight afforded to send an officer to General Cooke with a summons to surrender; which he very wisely complied with, and the remainder of the English laid down their arms on the ramparts of Bergen-op-Zoom.

General Bizanet drew forth the admiration of his enemies more by his humane attention to his suffering assailants than by his excellent defence. He entered into an agreement for a suspension of hostilities for three days, suffered all prisoners, not too severely wounded, to depart on parole, and alleviated by every means in his power the miseries which a rash attempt had brought on the English troops.

In Italy Bonaparte was deserted by another king of his own manufacturing; and King Murat was received as a legitimate sovereign by the allied monarchs of Europe. On the 17th of January, 1814, Murat announced this event to the world, in a curious manifesto. On the 19th his Neapolitans entered the papal territories; established a provisional government at Rome on the 24th, and, progressing northward, occupied Florence. Another army of Neapolitans joined the Austrians at Farara on the 22d, and General Bellegarde, having had a personal interview with Murat, put his army in motion early in February, to attack Prince Eugene Beauharnois, who still adhered to Napoleon. With the Neapolitans marching on his flank and rear, Beauharnois was compelled to abandon his positions on the Adige, which he had successfully defended against the Austrians, and to fall back upon Mincio. On the 8th of February General Bellegarde attacked the French at Valleggio, and a very severe battle with great slaughter ensued, without any decisive result. The advantage was

with Beauharnois, who, nevertheless, was obliged, by the demonstrations of the Neapolitans against his rear, to continue his retrograde movements.

About the middle of February Lord Wellington, with an army of Spanish, Portuguese, and English, opened the campaign in the south of France. This great general had been enabled, owing to the successes of Russia, to drive the French armies out of the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, and to follow them into the French territory. On the 27th of February was fought the battle of Orthez, in which Marshal Soult was defeated by the allies under Lord Wellington, and lost a large portion of his army not only by death, wounds, and captivity, but by desertion.

The army of the allies having crossed the Adour, below Bayonne, and invested that city, Lord Wellington pushed on a detachment of his army, under Sir W. Beresford, to take possession of Bordeaux. On the 12th of March the citizens of Bordeaux, preceded by the mayor, came out to meet the English general with acclamations, and

displayed the white cockade in token of loyalty to Louis XVIII.

Louis Antoine, duke of Angouleme, and nephew to the titular king of France, who had been sent to the south to join Wellington, and take advantage of the events which might favour the Bourbon dynasty, published letters patent from the titular king, dated from Hartwell, England, authorizing him to establish the king's government in all places to which he might be able to penetrate; to levy troops, and receive the allegiance of those who might abandon the opposite standard; to command all the military for the king; to take from the public chests all necessary treasure for the royal service; to appoint all officers both civil and military: these powers to continue in force until the arrival of the king, or of his brother Charles Philip (Monsieur) who had been appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom.

The duke of Angouleme proceeded to Bordeaux, and assured the people of France that they were delivered from tyrants, wars, conscriptions, and vexatious im-

posts; and the whole of the department of La Landes declared for Louis XVIII.

In the mean time the shattered army of Soult continued to retreat before Wellington, who, having collected his detachments, on the 18th of March, pushed the French with some loss to Vic Bagourey and Tarbes. On the 20th Soult made a show of giving battle at Tarbes, but, on the approach of the allies, retreated skirmishing. On the 24th the French army had reached Toulouse.

No event of importance took place in the south of France until after the momentous transactions at Paris, which decided the fate of Europe; yet, that we may not turn again to the inferior parts of our story, we will here notice some unfortunate occurrences in which the waste of human life was even more than usually to be regretted, as unnecessary, and without accomplishing any desirable purpose. On the 10th of April Lord Wellington, not having heard of the cessation of hostilities agreed upon at Paris, attacked the positions of Marshal Soult at Toulouse; the French joined battle, and a contest succeeded, which was as sanguina-

ry as it was useless. After various attacks and repulses, the French were driven from their positions, and evacuated Toulouse, after sustaining a loss of six generals and a great number of men, killed or wounded. On the 13th Sir John Hope, who commanded the besiegers of Bayonne, having received intimation of the transactions at Paris, sent a flag communicating the intelligence to the French commander, who, paying no attention to this message, made a sortie very unexpectedly upon the English, killed and wounded a great number of men, with two generals, and among other prisoners took the English commander, Sir John Hope.

Having taken this cursory view of the more distant and less important events, we return to the momentous transactions which were passing at and near Paris.

After the battle of the 30th of March, under the walls of Paris, it was agreed that the French, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, should evacuate the city on the morning of the 31st, and the allied sovereigns take possession, with their armies,

of the capital of France. The capitulation consisted of eight articles, by which it was provided, that the troops of the line should leave the city with all the appurtenances of their *corps d'armée* at seven o'clock in the morning; that hostilities should not recommence until two hours after; that all arsenals, &c. &c. should be left as before the capitulation was proposed; that the national guards should be separated from the troops of the line, and disarmed or disbanded at the pleasure of the allies; and the city was recommended to the generosity of the allies.

On the 31st the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia, at the head of their troops, (for on such occasions all emperors and kings head their troops,) entered the city of Paris, and were received with acclamations. The white cockade was displayed by some of the Parisians, and the cry of "Vive Louis XVIII." was heard and encouraged. The national guard in their uniforms, and armed, cleared avenues for the troops of the allies to pass, while the people hailed the entrance of an invading and conquering

army as a blessing, and the lower order of the populace amused themselves by placing a rope round the neck of the statue of Napoleon, shouting "a bas le tyran."

The emperor of Russia went immediately to the hotel of Talleyrand, and in the afternoon of the same day published a declaration, stating that the object of the allies was to restrain the ambition of Bonaparte, and that as soon as France, by changing her government, shall give assurance of peace, the allies are ready to treat on terms favourable to her; that they will treat no more with Napoleon Bonaparte or any of his family; that they respect the integrity of ancient France, and because they think, that for the happiness of Europe France ought to be great and strong, they are even willing to add to her ancient power; that they will recognise and guaranty the constitution which the French nation shall give itself, and invite the senate to appoint a provisional government, and prepare such a constitution as may be adopted by the French people. On the first of April

the emperor of Russia nominated General Sachen as governor of Paris, and the same day the provisional government was organized, consisting of Talleyrand, Prince of Benevente, the Duke D'Alberg, General Count de Bournonville, Francoise de Faucourt, and the Abbé Montesquieu. One of their first acts was to order every obstacle to be removed which opposed the journey of the pope, the courageous head of the church, to his own territories; and to order that Prince Carlos of Spain, Ferdinand's brother, should be conducted with all honours to the first Spanish post.

A decree for the dethronement of Bonaparte was brought forward in the conservative senate on the 2d of April, which, after revision, was on the 3d adopted. It declares, that in a constitutional monarchy the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution, or social compact; that Napoleon Bonaparte, during a period of firm and prudent government, gave reason to expect further acts of wisdom and justice, but afterwards violated the compact which united him to the people, by levy-

ing imposts and taxes contrary to law, and the oath which he had taken; that he had adjourned the legislative body without necessity; suppressed a criminal report of that body, and disputed its title and share in the national representation; that he undertook a series of wars in violation of Art. 50 of the constitution of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws; that he had unconstitutionally issued decrees of death; that he had violated the commercial laws; that he had annulled the responsibility of ministers, confounded authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies; that he had violated the liberty of the press; that he had, in the publication, altered acts and reports heard by the senate; that instead of reigning according to his oath, for the happiness of the people, he had completed the misfortunes of his country, by refusing to treat for peace on conditions which the national interests required him to accept; that he had abused the means entrusted to

him in men and money; that he had abandoned the wounded without dressing, assistance, or subsistence; that he had ruined the towns, depopulated the country, and introduced famine and contagion; that for all these causes the imperial government, established 28th Floreal, year 12, had ceased to exist, and that to accomplish the wish of France, the restoration of peace, and a reconciliation with Europe, the senate declares and decrees, 1st, That Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited the throne; and the hereditary government established in his family is abolished.

2d. The French people and the army are absolved from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Bonaparte.

3d. The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the provisional government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately be proclaimed in all the quarters of the capital.

A similar resolution was the same day adopted by the legislative body.

Prince Schwartzenberg lost no time in

communicating to the marshal duke of Ragusa the events which had taken place, giving him an invitation, as from the provisional government, to join the cause of the country with the troops under his command. The French marshal accepted the invitation, saying, that the army and people having been absolved from their oath of allegiance, by the decree of the senate, he, to prevent civil war, will quit Napoleon on the following conditions: That all French troops, quitting the banners of Napoleon, shall be free to retire to Normandy with their arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with military honours from the allies; that if, in consequence of this movement, the person of Napoleon should fall into the hands of the allies, his life should be guarantied to him, and his liberty in a circumscribed space of territory.

These terms were acceded to by the allies, and the army of the duke of Ragusa marched through the allied armies to Versailles, with every demonstration of respect on the part of the conquerors of France.

On the 5th of April an address dated

Corbeil, and signed General Lucotte, was promulgated to the French army, saying, that the Emperor Napoleon has announced that he being considered as the only obstacle to the peace of Europe, he is ready to renounce the throne, or life itself, for the welfare of France; that he demands the succession to the throne for his son and empress; that the answer of the "first bodies of the state" is awaited, and that the allies appeared to protect the free expression of the wish of those bodies; that in the mean time a truce is established.

On the same day Marshal Ney addressed a letter to Talleyrand, president of the provisional government, saying, that he (Ney) and the dukes of Tarentum and Vicenza had repaired to Paris on the 4th, charged to defend, before the emperor of Russia, the interest of Bonaparte's dynasty. That an unforeseen event put a stop to the negotiations, and that, foreseeing the evils of civil war, if the cause of the Bourbons was not promptly embraced, he had repaired to the emperor, and made known the wishes of the French people;

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that the emperor had consented to "an entire and unrestricted abdication."

On the 6th of April appeared a declaration of the emperor of Russia, stating, that as continual applications were making to him, by individuals, relative to personal interests, he, "having come to France to concur in the establishment of peace, and to promote the happiness of the country," will exercise no influence over the French constituted authorities relative to the execution of the laws; therefore, all persons are referred to those authorities.

On the same day the provisional government published an address to the people, wherein, after expatiating upon the evils brought upon the country by Bonaparte, they declare the change in the government, and invite France to be happy; and the conservative senate decreed, that the French government is monarchical and hereditary; that the people call to the throne Louis Stanislaus Xavier; that the ancient nobility resume their titles, the new preserve their's hereditarily, and the legion of honour be maintained; that the

executive power is in the king; that the king, senate, and legislative body make the laws: laws may originate in the senate or legislative body, but those relative to contribution must originate with the latter; the king's sanction necessary to a law; that the senate shall consist of at least 150, at most 200, their dignity hereditary, the present senators to remain such, and the remainder of the number to be named by the king; a senator must be twenty-one years of age, and all princes of the blood are by right senators; that the deputies to the legislative body, as they were when last adjourned, shall continue until replaced by a new election, to take place in 1816; they shall assemble by right on the 1st of October of each year; the king may convoke extraordinary sessions of the legislative body, may adjourn it, may dissolve it, but in the latter case, another must be formed in at least three months; that no member of the senate or legislative body can be arrested but by authority from the body to which he belongs; the trial of a member of either body belongs to the

senate; that equality of taxation is a right, and taxes can only be imposed by free consent of the senate and legislative body; that the mode of recruiting the army shall be fixed by law; that the independence of the judiciary is guarantied, the institution of juries preserved, and the publicity of criminal trials; that the military in service, or on half pay, preserve their ranks and emoluments; that the person of the king is sacred and inviolable; the ministers responsible for violations of the laws by public acts, which they must sign; that freedom of conscience and worship is guarantied; that the liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of legal repression of abuses resulting therefrom; that the public debt is guarantied, and the sales of national domains irrevocably maintained; that no Frenchman shall be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given, and all are equally admissible to civil and military employments; that the existing laws remain in force till legally repealed; that the present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the

French people. "Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed king of the French as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating, *I accept the constitution; I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed.*"

Such is the outline of the constitution, which, with the approbation, as it must appear, of the emperor of Russia and his allies, the French conservative senate decreed; and Monsieur, the brother and lieutenant of Louis, having entered Paris on the 13th of April, was next day visited by the senate and legislative body; and they, by a decree, committed the provisional government to him, until "Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall have accepted the constitutional charter." His royal highness assured these visiters that he had made himself acquainted with the constitutional act which recalls his brother to the throne of France, and though he has not received power to accept the constitution, he from his knowledge of his brother assures them, in his name, that he will admit the basis of it. He then repeats the material points in

the constitution, and concludes with thanks in his brother's name for what they had done.

Happy would it have been if virtue enough had been found in the rulers and people of France to maintain a form of government even so good as this. They would then have had the best government in Europe, and been repaid for the long series of war and wo which they have experienced. The limits of the present work will not permit to the writer the useful task of comparing this constitution with the English or other constitutions, or of pointing out what he considers its excellencies or defects.

On the 15th of April the emperor of Austria made his entrance into Paris, accompanied by the Crown Prince Bernadotte; and Monsieur received the emperors of Russia and Austria, with the sovereigns of Prussia and Sweden, and accompanied them to a review of the allied troops.

We have seen that Bonaparte, who had in several negotiations at different points

of time been driven to lower his demands, had not yet lowered them as rapidly as his falling fortunes demanded; and had finally been obliged to abdicate the throne. No other conditions were granted to him than a pension, and the petty sovereignty of the little island of Elba.

To this place of banishment he was sent under the escort of commissioners, in an English frigate. Such was the end of Bonaparte's campaign against Russia. On the 20th of April he left Fontainbleau, the scene of his humiliation, and embarked on the 28th at St. Rapheu, near Frejus, for Elba, where he safely arrived, and took possession of the island on the 4th of May.

We will now conclude this brief narrative of the most stupendous events ever witnessed, by noticing the fate of the constitution, decreed by the French senate, and the definitive treaty of peace, which has fixed for a time the tranquillity and the balance of power of Europe.

Louis Stanislaus Xavier, having arrived in France, and being received with every demonstration of joy by the people and

the military, who acknowledged him as the legitimate king, notwithstanding that he had not accepted, signed, or sworn to support the constitution, feeling himself independent of a conquered people, and only accountable to the victorious allies, who had reinstated him, assumed, on the 2d of May, the kingly style, and declared, that he was king of France and Navarre, by the grace of God, and recalled to the throne of his fathers by *his* people; that after reading with attention the *plan of a constitution* proposed by the senate, he had found the basis good, but that a great number of articles, owing to precipitation in drawing them up, cannot become fundamental laws of the state; that he will convoke the senate and legislative body, and lay before them, on the 10th of June, the result of *his labours*. He, however, gives them the following assurances, that the representative government shall be maintained, divided into a senate and a house composed of deputies of departments; the taxes shall be freely imposed; public and private liberty ensured; the liberty of the

press respected, with precautions necessary to public tranquillity; the freedom of worship guarantied; property shall be sacred and inviolable; the sales of the national domains remain irrevocable; the ministers responsible, may be prosecuted by one of the legislative houses, and tried by the other; the judges irremovable, and the judicial power independent; the public debt shall be guarantied; pensions, honours, military rank, preserved; the legion of honour maintained, with a decoration determined by the king; every Frenchman shall be admitted to civil and military employments, and no individual disturbed for his former opinions and votes.

On the 4th of June the king presented to the French people a constitution, as he had promised them, at the same time declaring that all authority resides in the person of the king, but that he graciously releases to the people certain portions of liberty, as specified in this grant. This constitution is founded upon the abovementioned declaration of Louis, when he

rejected that decreed by the senate; but retains all essential power in his own hands; the Romish religion is declared the religion of the state, and the ministers of that and all other modes of christian worship are to be paid from the royal treasury *alone;* the king commands the land and sea forces, declares war, makes treaties of all kinds, appoints to all employments of public administration; the legislative power is exercised collectively by the king, the house of peers, and the house of deputies of departments, but the *king proposes all laws;* the king alone sanctions and promulgates all laws; the number of the house of peers is unlimited, and they are made by the king, or "the king creates nobles at will;" the king's ministers may be members of either house; the king appoints judges; in fact, the power retained by the king must render nugatory the liberty he is graciously pleased to grant to his people.

Thus we see the people of France, who had shaken off the enormous abuses of a kingly government, which, whether administered by a wise man or a fool, by

an ambitious hero, an unblushing debauchee, or a well-meaning driveller, was almost equally intolerable; and who had been forced into war by the interference of foreign nations in their internal regulations; who had conquered every people of Europe to whose territory their armies could approach, while they themselves suffered all the miseries of bad experimental government in every form, from that of a mob to that of a despot; who had at last elected one man to reign over them under the shadow of a representative government, and the remains of the form of a republic, with the reality of a despot; now submitted to an almost unqualified monarchy, receiving a king on such terms as his will, and the will of their conquerors, shall dictate.

We will now take a view of such parts of the definitive treaty of peace as bear upon the great question of the adjustment of the balance of European power.

The limits of France are settled as they were at the epoch of January, 1792, with some additions in drawing the line of de-

markation between her and her neighbours; the republic of Geneva shall form a part of the confederation of Switzerland, and is assured the use of the route by Versoi, to facilitate communication with other parts of the confederation; the navigation upon the Rhine shall be free; duties which may be levied by states bounding on the river to be regulated by a congress; Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory, and its prince is prohibited from wearing a foreign crown; the states of Germany shall be independent, and united by a federative league; Switzerland shall be independent; Italy, except the parts given to Austria, shall be composed of sovereign states; Malta shall belong to Great Britain, who engages to restore to France "the colonies, fisheries, factories, and establishments of every kind which France possessed in January, 1792, excepting Tobago, St. Lucia, the Isle of France and its dependencies, which France cedes to England; France likewise cedes to Spain the part of St.

Domingo which became hers by the peace of Basle. The king of Sweden *and Norway* cedes Guadaloupe to France; England agrees to allow to the French all the facilities of the most favoured nations in their trade with British India; and France agrees not to fortify or hold troops in the places restored to her by England, within the limits of the English sovereignty on the continent of India; the right of France to the fisheries remains as in 1792; two thirds of the vessels of war, armed or not armed, and the naval artillery and ammunition, which are within the bounds of the places restored by France, shall belong to France, and one third to the country so restored; from this stipulation the vessels and arsenals of Holland are excepted, "and especially the fleet of the Texel." There is no notice of Poland, no longer a nation; Warsaw remains with Russia; the states mentioned "as returning to Austria" are Venice and its dependencies, with Mantua and Peschiera.

Thus it has pleased the great rulers of Europe to adjust what is called the balance

of power, and it is not to be doubted but they will watch with a jealous eye over the distribution they have made. To secure that peace to the world which is every good man's wish, there appears wanting some adjustment of the maritime rights of nations, and a free commercial intercourse, leaving the seas equally open to, as they are equally the property of, all mankind.

New-York, November, 1814.

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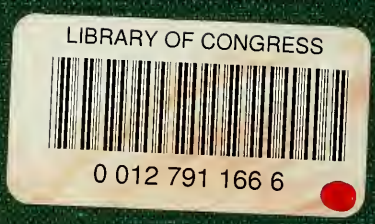
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